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RELIGION AND POLICY

AND THE

COUNTENANCE AND ASSISTANCE

TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC

WITH A HISTORY

RELIGION AND POLICY.

POWER AND INFLUENCE OF THE POPE



BY

BY

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON



WITH A HISTORY OF THE

CONDUCT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN THE REFORMATION

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1662

RELIGION AND POLICY

AND THE

CONSTITUTIONAL AND ASSISTANCE

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AND THE
COURTESY AND ASSISTANCE
EACH SHOULD GIVE TO THE OTHER.
WITH A SURVEY
OF THE
POWER AND JURISDICTION OF THE POPE
IN THE
DOMINIONS OF OTHER PRINCES.

BY
EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON,
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND,
AND
CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

OXFORD:
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.
MDCCCXI.

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AND THE

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EACH SHOULD GIVE TO THE OTHER

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OF THE

POWER AND JURISDICTION OF THE POPE

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MONACENSIS

BY

EDWARD BART OF CLARENDON

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CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

VOLUME THE SECOND

FROM OXFORD

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MDCCCXX

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*Pius V. A. D. 1566. to Gregory XV. A. D. 1621.—
Excommunication of Queen Elizabeth—Massacre
of St. Barthélemi—Wars of the League in France
—Excommunication of the Republic of Venice.*

UPON the death of Pius, and after a very long and a very factious conclave, the Cardinal Alessandro was chosen Pope; who, to shew the veneration he had for his predecessor, assumed his name, and was called Pius the Fifth; but quickly shewed that he had much more affection for the memory of Paul the Fourth than of Pius the Fourth, by reversing the memorable and just judgment pronounced by his predecessor himself in full consistory upon the two nephews of Paul the Fourth, for several the most horrid assassinations and murders, and other crimes and misdemeanors; which, with those circumstances, have been in all times and all countries capital; and for which they were both put to death; the Cardinal, by the privilege of his purple, having been strangled in prison, and the Duke publicly beheaded on a scaffold, with two of his nearest friends and kindred.

Election of
Pius V.
His character.

CHAP. VIII. And now, near six years after, this new Pope caused

the process to be re-examined, reversed the sentence, declared the family restored to its honour without blemish, and to inherit all the lands and goods which had been forfeited, and (which was a thing monstrous and unheard of) caused the Treasurer Pallantieri, a man of an unblemished reputation, to be beheaded for having deceived the late Pope, and having overcharged those miserable men in the drawing up and relation of their trial; when the whole process had been (as hath been said before) deliberately read and perused in consistory, and the sentence given by the Pope himself; which proceeding made all men observe that the temporal law did not less depend upon the determination of the Pope's private spirit, than the spiritual. Of the last of these he found that the so late Council of Trent had already so much need, that by a Bull, in which he declared, that "*ad Romanum spectat Pontificem suâ sollicitudine diligenter providere, ut sacrorum Conciliorum decreta, ita suæ declarationis adminiculo dilucidentur quod nulla desuper dubitandi occasio cuiquam relinquatur:*" and thereupon he made an interpretation upon the third chapter in the four and twentieth session, "*circa sponsalia vel matrimonia,*" manifestly contrary to the sense and purpose of the Council. Indeed this Pope scattered abroad his Bulls into all quarters of the world, as if he had been universal Monarch, as well as universal Bishop; nor doth he assume a less style to himself in his Bull, by which "*Cosmus Medices reipub. Florentinæ dux, ejusque successores magni duces Etruriæ creantur;*" in which he says, that "*Romanus Pontifex in excelso militantis ecclesiæ throno, dis-*"

—"*ponente*"

“*ponente Domino super gentes et regna constitu-* CHAP.
tus &c.” But the Princes of that time were so far VIII.
 from believing him, that not only men out of Italy,
 but the Princes in Italy of the age in which he lived,
 not one ever gave him that title, and many are of
 opinion that the wise Cosmus never had desired it
 from the Pope: but certain it is, that he did after-
 wards much endeavour to procure the Emperor to
 confirm it, which he always refused to do.

That he might give as great an instance of his Excommu-
 nicates
 Queen Eli-
 zabeth, and
 deprives
 her of her
 crown,
 power in pulling down, as he had done in building
 up, and that he might shew how much more power
 the Pope hath than a General Council pretends to
 have, he made no scruple of doing what that had so
 lately refused to do; and he issued out his Bull of
 excommunication against Queen Elizabeth, and all
 who adhered to her; with that horrible preamble, to
 the scandal and reproach of all the Kings and
 Princes of the earth; “*Regnans in excelsis, cui data*
 “*est omnis in cælo, et in terra potestas, unam Sanc-*
 “*tam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam, extrâ*
 “*quam nulla est salus, uni soli in terris, videlicet*
 “*Apostolorum Principi, Petro, Petrique successori*
 “*Romano Pontifici in potestatis plenitudine tradidit,*
 “*gubernandam; hunc unum super omnes gentes, et*
 “*omnia regna Principem constituit qui evellat, destruat,*
 “*dissipet, disperdat, plantet et ædificet &c. Illius ita-*
 “*que auctoritate suffulti, qui Nos in hoc supremo jus-*
 “*titiae throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collo-*
 “*care, de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, declara-*
 “*mus prædictam Elizabeth hæreticam, et hæreticorum*
 “*fautricem, eique adhærentes in prædictis, anathema-*
 “*tis sententiam incurrisse, esseque a Christi corporis*
 “*unitate præcisos.*” And so he proceeds to the ab-

CHAP. VIII. solving all her subjects from the oaths of fidelity which they had taken to her, deprives her of all her kingdoms and dominions, and condemns all who shall adhere to her, or submit to her government, under the same censure and excommunication. And can any body wonder that this great Queen (to whom all Christian Princes of the age paid more reverence than to any other King or Queen in the world) should comply with the just jealousy of her subjects, in providing the strictest laws against the emissaries of such a tyrannical usurper, and against all those who, submitting to his authority, were like to conspire with them against her person, and the peace of the kingdom ; of which they gave too frequent instances. This is the greatest monument that ungodly Pope raised and left to the world of his being Pope, and for which all good Catholics themselves detest his memory. Nor is there, over and above that frantic Bull mentioned before against the Queen and Kingdom of England, any other memorial of him, than that he was so poor and obscure a person in birth and fortune, that, fifteen years before he was chosen Pope, he came to Rome on foot for want of a beast to carry him ; and except the notable actions which have preserved the memory of the time of his six years reign, namely, the battle of Lepanto, the loss of the island of Cyprus, and the woful tragedy of the greatest Prince in Christendom put to death by his own father.

Gregory
XIII.

Upon the death of Pius the Fifth, there was so great a consent in the conclave, that, within less than four and twenty hours after it met, all the Cardinals by adoration elected the Cardinal Buoncompagno, who took the style of Gregory the Thirteenth: which
gives

gives us occasion properly in this place to observe CHAP.
VIII.
(for after this time there is, I think, no difference in the account) the irreconcilable disagreement that is between the Catholic writers of the Pontifical history; for in some, this Gregory the Thirteenth is reckoned the two hundred fifty-fourth Pope from St. Peter, as by the Spaniards, I think all; whereas by others, both French and Italian, he is looked upon but as the two hundred and thirtieth; and this probably proceeds from the different concessions and acceptations of the several nations, which in the frequent schisms that have fallen out, have preserved the memory only of him who was by them received and acknowledged to be Pope. It is harder to find a reason how some come to be recorded as Popes when no schism hath been, who not only were never in that station, but want good evidence of having been in the state of nature; as of him who passed under the name of John the Eighth in some Pontificals, and who, they say, was an English woman, who is reckoned to have succeeded Leo the Fourth about the year eight hundred fifty-nine, and was succeeded by Benedict the Third; and there are between Leo the Fourth and that John, (who is generally accounted the Eighth,) three or four Popes. Be it true or false, (as I am inclined to think it to be a mere fable,) it owes its original to Catholic authority; the first mention of it being only to be found amongst them. However that, and the different account of the number, (as in this of Gregory the Thirteenth,) shews how hard a task they have to trace that authority they would have to reside in the Pope, in a direct line from St. Peter, when they do

CHAP. not agree who have been his successors, or upon the
 VIII. number of them.

His cha-
 racter.

Gregory the Thirteenth was seventy years of age when he was chosen Pope, but had all the frantic passion of anger and rage that youth was ever possessed with, and outdid all the Gregories who had been before him in acts of blood and cruelty, and kindled that civil war in France which destroyed so many millions of men, and could not be quenched with the blood of the greatest Princes of Europe, and was inflamed by him till the whole royal family was consumed, which by his instigation had destroyed so many. And if the actions of this one Pope and his successor (though they did but tread in the footsteps of some of their predecessors) were but well weighed and considered by all Kings and Princes of the Christian faith, there would need no other argument to convince them how impossible it is that God should ever give the Bishop of Rome that power and authority which he impiously assumes and usurps as his deputy; and how insecure and miserable they must always be, (because in some time they may be so,) whilst those men do but imagine, and other men believe, they have a supreme power in what case soever over their persons subjects or dominions.

Massacre of
 St. Barthé-
 lemi.

He was chosen in that infamous year fifteen hundred seventy-two; and, as soon as he was chosen, very cheerfully, and without any of those pauses which naturally attend such transactions, he granted the dispensation for the Prince of Navarre (who was afterwards Harry the Fourth) to be married to the Princess Margaret; which no importunity could prevail with his predecessor to consent to; and his
 doing

doing so made it believed that he was privy to the end and purpose of that marriage. Notorious it is, that he had no sooner notice of that barbarous and inhuman Massacre of St. Barthélemi, than he went himself in the most solemn procession to the church of St. Lewis in Rome, to give God thanks for that happy victory; and shortly after sent an extraordinary Nuncio to that King to congratulate with him for his conquest over so many of his enemies, and to advise him to prosecute the same method of revenge and justice until he had rooted out all the heretics, and not left a single man to reproach him with it: a Massacre, in which, in the first night in Paris, where it begun, there were killed above five thousand men, of whom there were between six and seven hundred gentlemen of quality, whereof no one had his sword in his hand; and, within few days after, in Thoulouse, Bourdeaux, Lyons, Orleans, and two or three other towns, Monsieur Mezeray accounts there perished five and twenty thousand men women and children: (and this carnage was prosecuted throughout the kingdom for the space of near, if not full, a month; and for this butchery, this anti-christian Gregory makes a formal procession to give God thanks, and sends the Nova buona to the most Christian King:) a Massacre attended and accompanied with all the foul dissimulation and most horrid perjury that ever added to the deformity of any wickedness, that the authors and conductors of it were ashamed and forsworn in the very act of executing it; and the memory whereof is more preserved and propagated by the most exemplary vengeance that God inflicted upon the principal authors and contrivers of it, than by its cruelty; the whole fruitful

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race of that miserable Queen, who principally mould-
ed the whole machine, being in few years extirpated
from the earth, and the crown settled upon his head,
and continued to his posterity, whose destruction and
murder was the chief end of that monstrous design :
a Massacre, that all pious Catholics, in the time in
which it was committed, decried abominated and
detested : nor hath any Protestant writer mentioned
it with more bitterness and aversion, than those two
judicious Catholic historiographers Thuanus and Me-
zeray have done ; whilst Gregory alone paid his de-
votions for it ; nor hath it been celebrated by any of
that party, (how many soever cruelly concurred in
it,) but some Jesuits, from whom he well deserved it.

Privileges
of the Je-
suits in-
creased.

And it was wisely done of that Pope, when he re-
solved to cherish and promote that kind of warfare,
in taking care to advance and countenance a militia
that was most proper for it. And therefore, as there
was no Pope, or but one, (from the time of the first
institution of that society by Paul the Third,) who
had not given some new access and testimony of his
grace and favour to it ; so Gregory the Thirteenth
(who looked farther into the use of it) did not con-
tent himself with one single act of bounty to them,
but poured out and even emptied his whole treasure
of concessions and privileges, to enable them for any
services they should dedicate themselves to by his
appointment. That they may not be too intent upon,
and tired with those devotions which other religious
orders are liable to and exercised with, and that the
other more ancient orders may not be taken notice
of to precede them, he grants by a special Bull, that
“ *Religiosi et personæ societatis Jesu, ad publicas pro-*
“ *cessionones accedere non cogantur ;*” in which he
takes

takes notice, that “ *nonnulli locorum ordinarii, forsant* CHAP. VIII.
“ *Concilii Tridentini auctoritate et decreto moti,*” had
compelled some Jesuits to attend such religious exercises, “ *non sine illorum functionum et ministeriorum retardatione;*” and therefore he did absolve them from all those and the like attendances. By another Bull he grants them liberty that “ *ubique ecclesiarum, et domus ædificari possint,*” (notwithstanding any privileges granted, or to be granted, to other orders, “ *quod prope eorum loca nova monasteria construi nequeant,*”) because he could not but take notice that his dearly beloved sons, “ *Presbyteri venerabilis societatis Jesu in vineâ Domini tanquam fructiferi palmites in toto fere orbe, optimum et uberrimum fructum attulerant &c.*” Then, lest their great revenues (they being founded in poverty, and by a special Bull of his predecessor, declared to be “ *verè de ordinibus mendicantibus*”) should be taken notice of, by which they might be liable to pay a little out of the much they receive, he grants them by another Bull an exemption “ *à solutione et præstatione decimarum, et aliorum onerum quorumcunque.*”

We of England had a more particular obligation to him, for his care and provision for our peace and quiet, by his erecting a college in Rome only for the maintenance and support of those “ *juvenes ex illo miserrimo regno huc profugientes qui, divino spiritu ducti,*” had left their country parents and estates, only to be brought up and instructed in the Catholic Religion; and, being so, that they may return into their native country, “ *ad alios, qui à viâ veritatis declinaverint, erudiendos:*” and there is a special clause in the Bull, that every scholar, after he

English
college
founded
at Rome.

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is admitted, and hath betaken himself to his studies for some time, “*Juramentum præstet se vitam ecclesiasticam producturum, seque omni tempore ad jussum superiorum in patriam revertendum, et ad animas quantum in Domino potuerit adjuvandas paratum fore;*” and, being thus disposed and resolved, “*sacerdotali militiæ pro temporis vel loci necessitate ascribere &c. promoveri possint extrâ tempora et absque ordinariorum literis dimissoriis, et sine titulo, et non obstante defectu natalium:*” so ready they are to dispense with the most ancient and most established canons of their own Church and Religion, and most generally received, that they may have an opportunity to disturb and betray their neighbours.

Special privileges given to the Jesuits, contrary to the decrees of the Council of Trent.

In order to this, it was a very signal provision that was made by this Pope by another Bull, by which “*usus altaris portatilis Religiosis societatis Jesu re-stituitur, non obstante Concilii Tridentini dispositione.*” This had been granted to them by Paul the Third, in regard of their missions to the Indies, upon which they then seemed wholly intent; but by the Council of Trent expressly and universally forbidden; but now, “*vobis eatenus restituimus, ut presbyteri vestri (all the Jesuits) Missæ sacrificium licite valeant celebrare super hujusmodi altari ubique gentium.*” It is worth the observation, that all this fatherly care for our country, and those and other multiplied concessions to those his sons, were granted in that time, when the great preparations were making in Spain for that invasion, and other designs were contriving against the life of Queen Elizabeth; to all which this Pope was privy, as shall appear hereafter, though he died before it was ripe. But the two last signal Bulls, which he granted to them in the year
fifteen

fifteen hundred eighty-four, (a little before his own death, and after his age of fourscore and three,) are the lasting monuments that this peaceable spirit left him not till his own sudden expiration. And the great use he made of those precious and faithful instruments must not be unmentioned; the one is, that which is called "*Approbatio tertia instituti et constitutionum Religionis clericorum regularium societatis Jesu &c.*" in which is that extraordinary and memorable and abominable preface; "*Ascendente Domino et Salvatore nostro in naviculam, ecce motus magnus factus est in mari, ipse autem à discipulis rogatus ventis imperavit, et facta est tranquillitas, quam Nos in Petri naviculâ collocati turbinibus excitatis, &c. nostram intereà operam et laborem in frangendis procellosis fluctibus impendere non desistimus* : then he thanks God for his great providence for assisting him with those "*validos remiges*," who are ready to perform all offices which he should require from them; and therefore it concerned him to cherish and protect "*et ab omni non modo injuriâ, sed etiam calumniâ tenemur intactos conservare*:" and to that purpose, to those who shall make the fourth vow, "*specialis Summo Pontifici obedientiæ circa missiones præstandæ, ob certiores Spiritus Sancti in missionibus ipsis directionem ac majorem ipsorum mittendorum sedi Apostolicæ obedientiam, majoremque devotionem, humilitatem, mortificationem ac voluntatum abnegationem &c.*" he will not have them pretend to any preference or dignity, within or without the society; nor out of the society they shall not consent to any such election made in their favour, "*nisi coacti obedientiâ ejus qui ab ipsis possit sub pœnâ peccati præcipere*:" and all this they may safely

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safely do, having good reason to be assured that their want of ambition shall, by the especial care and provision of the Master to whom alone they have dedicated all their obedience, not turn to their prejudice.

It would have required a very strong and fertile invention, after the multiplication of so many donatives graces and concessions by one Pope, added to the full heap of what had been before granted by so many of his predecessors, to have found any defect of power by which the Jesuits could be restrained from doing any mischief they were inclined or directed to do: but this careful Pope discerned, that men of such sagacity ought to be trusted to do whatsoever they thought would be agreeable to their great Master's will or wish; though some formalities were wanting in them, which to all other men of less pregnancy were even necessary qualifications; and without which they could not perform their offices: and therefore by his last Bull, very few months before his death, he granted "*quod religiosi societatis clericorum Regularium Jesu, etiam sacris ordinibus non initiati verbum Dei prædicare possint.*" Also, that there might no scruples arise amongst themselves in this point of their incompetency, "*Declaramus, ac etiam decernimus vestrum unicuique etiam ad sacros ordines non promoti, prædicationis munus in vim privilegii hujusmodi exercere posse &c. et valeant deinceps ipsum verbum Dei, ubique populo prædicare.*" Since it is no new tenet, and was the sole excuse or justification which a gentleman, who suffered in the Gunpowder Treason, made for himself in that infamous and odious conspiracy, "*Deus est Papa, et Papa est Deus;*" it may be no breach of charity,

charity, especially considering what this Pope did afterwards, (though he did not do half of that kind which he intended to have done,) to believe that this qualification he dispensed, "*ipsum Dei verbum prædicare*," was in his own purpose and intention, and in theirs who were thus employed by him, to have no other measure of the "*verbum Dei*," but as it was "*verbum Pontificis*;" and to proceed accordingly. However, as in the other courts of Princes, they who in the public view receive so great and so frequent promotions and benefits above all other men, are sure to undergo a greater measure and burden of envy and malice and jealousy, than others to whom graces are more moderately dispensed; so the good fathers of that society (which hath yielded, since the foundation of it in most parts of Europe, men of as signal and profound learning, and, no doubt, of as accomplished virtue and piety, as any other province of learning whatsoever) must not wonder if these plentiful showers of munificence, from those who claim a prerogative and sovereignty in the dominions of all Kings and Princes, makes them more than ordinarily jealous, at least less confident than ordinary, of that class of men, who have vowed their subjection to one only Monarch, and not to him to whom nature hath subjected them; which jealousy cannot but be much increased if they are versed in history, and know to what uses they were employed after this Pope had cultivated and prepared them by those bounties, to be proper instruments for all his commands.

When Charles the Ninth of France, who from that fatal night of St. Barthélemi (to the transactions whereof he had been too much an eye-witness) never enjoyed that tranquillity and serenity of mind which

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VIII.

Henry III.
King of
France.

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which he had formerly been master of, was dead, (and he had long before his death manifested an aversion from all those who had led him to that odious resolution, which all the Catholic historians believe to have hastened his death ; for they observe, that, after the Poland commissioners or deputies had presented his brother, the Duke of Anjou, with the act of their election of him, to be their King, and all the solemnities of his and their parts were passed in Paris with all magnificence, in the presence of Charles, all delays for his journey thither were sought for, and found by the Queen Mother, and by Harry himself ; so much to the dissatisfaction of the King of France, who before this time found the vigour of his body to decrease no less than the peace of his mind, that he appointed a day in which his brother should begin his journey, and, finding new delays to be interjected, told him plainly, that one of them two should go out of France by the day prefixed, and when the Queen could by this means no longer defer their parting, she accompanied him to the borders of Lorraine, and there, in the tempest of tears and sighs at parting, told him imprudently, (as Mezeray confesses,) that he should not be long absent;) I say, when Charles was dead, and Harry the Third became King, he quickly discovered the same temper of mind to be in him, that the dead King had manifested ; that is, to unite all his subjects, and to govern France in peace ; which neither his mother, nor any of those to whom he had too much adhered formerly, did desire.

Besides his own recollections and reflections, (which he had reason and time enough to make in that cold country, from which he had made all indecent

cent haste to rescue himself,) when he assumed his own shape again, and in his return was treated in all courts according to his dignity, he found that amongst Catholics, as well as Protestants, the dismal triumph of St. Barthélemi was mentioned with equal horror. And the Emperor, who had entertained him six or seven days at Vienna with all princely magnificence, at parting advised him, that, as soon as he returned, he would take the government into his hands, and make a peace with those of the reformed religion, as the only means to cast the odium of that infamous act from himself upon those who had counselled it. Whether those so reiterated animadversions, or the thoughts which could hardly not arise from his own heart, or whether his nature was more disposed to ease and luxury, than would consist with the fatigue of a war, that must be carried on with such incessant labour, certain it is, that he quickly manifested a greater desire of peace with the Huguenots, than a resolution to extirpate them, which was the only remedy that the Queen, and all who adhered to her, meant to apply.

No man was more startled with this unexpected change in the King than Pope Gregory, who promised himself new massacres in all places, till there should not be a Huguenot left in France. The contrary resolution, which he discovered to be in Charles, had made him withdraw his good opinion from that Prince, and as much to long for the establishment of Harry, as the Queen his mother did. But now, when he discovered himself to be deceived likewise in that expectation, he commanded his Nuncio to interpose for the prevention of all treaties towards peace, and to conspire diligently with the Queen Mother, the Duke of Guise, and all those who adhered to them in opposing

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Conduct of
the Pope.

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posing it, or in breaking it when concluded. They made the King's inclination and propensity to peace to be a clear demonstration of his affection to the religion of the Huguenots, and persuaded the people that his affection to the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, (with whom he desired to preserve a peaceable intelligence,) proceeded from his aversion to the Catholic religion. And no man fomented this opinion more in the hearts of the people than the Pope's Nuncio, when no man knew better than he the perfect hatred the King had against the religion of the Huguenots, and the persons of all who professed it, and that only the fear of that power which they were like to get by a war, and the fear of that power which the Duke of Guise had already got by advancing the war, were the chief causes of his desire of peace.

Wars of the
League in
France.

Whilst the Pope had, by all the means he could devise, inflamed the Queen Mother and the Duke of Guise to the prosecution of the war, and to the diverting all thoughts of peace, and had likewise disposed the King of Spain to offer the King his assistance towards so holy a work, (which was indeed doing his own work, by preventing a conjunction between his own rebels of the Low Countries with those of France,) he proceeded then to work upon the King by threats and menaces, how absolutely he would be deserted by all his Catholic allies, and by all his Catholic subjects, if he did not speedily wipe off the reproach of being affected to the Huguenots: and by these artifices the irresolute nature of the poor King was prevailed with to sign that League, which was contrived for his own destruction; presuming that he should have more power by being
the

the head of it, than by opposing it under the disadvantage of being thought to be no good Catholic: CHAP.
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and now, when he had qualified all his most implacable enemies to be of his own fraternity, they quickly made it appear what their intention and purpose was, and how confident they were of the Holy Father's conjunction with them, in their utmost enterprises.

There cannot be a more lively description of the progress they made, and the lawful and righteous ends they proposed to themselves, than by their election of the emissary they sent to the Pope for the better receiving his advice and direction, who was Père Matthieu the Jesuit; nor of his transaction in this high trust, than by the account he gives of his negociation (after he had full conference with the Pope) to those by whom he was employed: and a more authentic evidence of which cannot be given, than out of so much of his own letters as are published in the Memoirs of the Duke of Nevers, to whom that letter of the eleventh of February, in the year fifteen hundred eighty five, was writ and directed, and signed Claude Matthieu Jesuit, which may be found in the 655th page of the first volume of those Memoirs. The good Father, after a short apology for not giving an earlier account, (which he knew his wisdom would excuse, since he knew that affairs of such importance cannot be done on the sudden, and that they are always done soon enough, when they are done well enough,) told him of the time of his arrival at Rome; that he had within three days audience of the Pope, to whom he gave his credential letters from him, Monsieur de Guise, Cardinal de Guise, and the rest whom he names;

Negociation of Père
Matthieu
at Rome.

CHAP. and that he then made him a large discourse con-
 VIII. cerning the state of affairs, according to that memoir which he had seen before he left Paris; that he did very easily make the Pope believe all that was contained in his instructions, for that he was already enough informed about it; so that he was before his arrival resolved publicly to declare the King of Navarre, and all the Princes of the blood, heretics, and incapable to succeed to the kingdom of France, if he had not been hindered by the remonstrance of some Cardinals, who told him, that it was by no means expedient for him to make that declaration, until the Catholics of the kingdom had their arms in their hands, to put the sentence of the Pope in execution: that the Pope questioned him very particularly concerning every article of his instructions, and having heard him very graciously, he said, this was an affair of very great consequence for the service of God, and of all Christendom; and that he would address himself unto Almighty God; and that he would well and maturely consider of it, and have all that had been said given to him in writing: and the Pope commanded him to communicate all to the Reverend Father, the General of his order, to the end that, without saying why, he might commend the business to the prayers of the whole society; and that he (the General) as well as the Father should give their opinion of it.

Some days after, the Pope having with two Cardinals, Palleve and Cosmo, maturely considered all, and heard the General and him, resolved upon the answer he would make; and he was called by the Cardinal Cosmo, Secretary to the Pope, who told him the Pope's resolution, which he writ word by word, and shewed it to the Cardinal, telling him
 withal,

withal, that it was a thing of so great importance, for CHAP.
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 the satisfaction of the consciences of the most conscientious Princes, who had writ to his Holiness, that he should be glad to carry the answer and resolution in writing from the Pope, to the end that he might not say any word in this resolution which proceeded not from his Holiness's own mouth; which the Cardinal thought very reasonable: and the Father going the next day to the Pope, he presented to him what he had writ from the mouth of Cardinal Cosmo, which he had read, and said he would keep it two days by him, the better to consider upon it; after which he restored it to him in the following form, word by word; which is inserted in Italian in that letter from the Father to the Duke of Nevers. It said, that his Holiness, having well understood and much considered what had been proposed on the behalf of some Catholic Princes who had writ to his Holiness, and of others their confederates, was very glad of the good occasion that God had given them to bring that to pass, which they had resolved upon: that their first and principal intention being to take up arms against the heretics of that kingdom, and that they had means in all probability to render it effectual, "*Sua Santità consente, et lauda che lo faciano, et leva loro ogni scrupolo di coscienza che per tal conto potessero havere &c.*" He gave them this answer upon the sixteenth of November fifteen hundred eighty-four.

The Father proceeds farther, and says, that upon the eighteenth of November he proposed to the Pope, that it would be a great comfort to all those Princes who should be engaged in this enterprise, if he would give them a plenary indulgence in form of

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a jubilee, as also to all them who should assist them in so holy a work ; which he granted. He said the Cardinal de Cosmo was very zealous in this affair, and the Pope much more ; who told him often, that he feared lest the Catholics should be too slow in beginning, and that the Heretics would prevent them ; a thing he judged to be very dangerous, considering the disposition of the state of the kingdom, and of the neighbouring countries, as also of the King of Navarre's being so near to the crown, and so zealous for the Heretics ; so that he urged him to be gone, and to be with them as soon as was possible. He said, that as soon as they had begun, the Pope would declare the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, incapable of succeeding to the crown, and he would not fail to favour the undertaking by all means imaginable ; and that he would send a Legate into those parts if there should be need ; and would do every thing which he thinks may serve for the justification of the cause before God, and before men.

The good Father gave a farther account to the Duke of what passed after his return from Rome ; he told him, that as he passed through Switzerland, Colonel Pffeiffer assured him, that if he were acquainted with the design a month or six weeks beforehand, he would bring from thence six thousand of the best men they had, and all Catholics ; provided that they returned to him thirty thousand livres to Lucerne to make the levy : he tells him that he was at last arrived at Mousson, where he received express command not to enter into France for fear lest they should have some suspicion of him : he said, that he had seen Monsieur de Lorraine, who told him, that the affairs were much more advanced than he imagined, and

and that they were ready to begin: he said, he had sent one of the Fathers, who had accompanied him in the journey, to Monsieur de Guise, and had writ to him all the negociation at large; upon which he had sent an express to him, and did urge him very earnestly to come to him to Joinville; he had nevertheless excused himself, as not being willing to give suspicion to any body. He tells him, moreover, that the Pope did not think fit that any attempt should be made upon the King's life, since that could not be done with a good conscience; but if they could seize upon his person, and remove from him those who are the cause of the kingdom's ruin, and put in their place some who might govern him, and give him good counsel, and make him put it in execution, that would be very well approved of; for under the pretence of his authority, they might make themselves masters of all the cities and provinces of the kingdom, and they might establish every thing as it ought to be, and so shun an infinite number of misfortunes, which would arrive if the King remain in the condition he then was, and if he should be so ill advised as to join with the Heretics against the Catholic Princes, as in all probability he would do. As there was danger also that he might be followed by a considerable party of Catholics, they might do well to take that point into deliberation, which in his opinion, he said, was the most important in all the enterprise, and yet it seemed no hard thing to him to be performed: they were upon the place, and could better judge of those means which ought to be observed in order to the execution of it than others. The good Father concluded, that if the Duke were satisfied in his conscience, and resolved to be of the

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party, he might be pleased to send some person to him, in whom he had a firm trust, and he would go along with him to the confines of Lorrain, to find Monsieur de Guise, to make the last resolution concerning the means, the day, and the persons, who should execute the aforesaid undertaking; and if the Duke thought fit, he might write whatsoever he pleased to command him in the cipher of the Scotch ambassador.

Dr. Parry
encouraged
by the
Pope to as-
sassinate
Queen Eli-
zabeth.

These are all the material points contained in that letter of Father Claude Matthieu, of the eleventh of February fifteen hundred eighty-five, of the truth of every part thereof no man can doubt, since it is published from the very original letter, which remained in the custody of the Duke of Nevers: and the divinity of the whole, and the care of the safety of the King's person was agreeable to that Pope's practice, in cases of the like nature: for when Dr. Parry, an Englishman who had studied and taken his degree in Physic at Padua, about the same time offered his service to the Pope's Nuncio, and proposed to him that he would kill Queen Elizabeth, and was willing to make a journey to Rome to make the same overture, the Nuncio (after he had informed the Pope of it) persuaded him not to lose so much time in a journey to Rome, but satisfied him that it was lawful to kill the Queen, provided that it was not out of malice, or for revenge, but only out of charity, and for the advancement of Catholic religion; and for the better convenience of his journey he gave him the Pope's own pass, which carried him into England; where, after few months, and upon evidence of his intention to kill the Queen, he was condemned and executed as a traitor. But as all Gregory's enter-
prises

prises and inventions upon England were by God's providence diverted and disappointed, so he lived not to finish half the mischief that he had carefully designed for France; though he had so well set all the wheels in motion, that the work was as well done as if he had lived. Within few months after the date of the Jesuit's letter, and upon a very short warning for a soul so ill prepared for the next world, he was killed by a quinsy very suddenly, and before any remedy could be applied; so that he was dead before any body in Rome knew that he was sick, and after he had reigned above twelve years, and lived above fourscore and three; which obliges us to examine how far the seeds which he had sown, and which prospered so plentifully, and rendered so prodigious a harvest in France, flourished likewise in Rome; and we shall there find how much better a casuist his successor was, and opposed and contradicted all the doctrine that had been preached by his predecessor, as to the dictates of the Spirit. CHAP.
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Upon the death of Gregory, though no conclave had been fuller of arts and faction, yet the heads of every faction quickly discerned that they should not be able to make either of those subjects they desired to be elected; and so they the sooner concurred in the election of a person that neither of them did desire: which he that writ the narrative of that conclave makes an argument of the sole power of the Holy Ghost in those elections, that when, at the entrance into the conclave, there was no man less in the opinion of men like to come out Pope than the Cardinal of Montalto, he within fourteen days should be elected both by adoration and scrutiny. He called himself Sixtus the Fifth. Sixtus V.

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His character.

Few men of any condition have been more remarkable than this Pope was through the whole of his life. His birth and extraction could not be lower; for he was taken by a charitable Friar from keeping of pigs, which was his only livelihood about fifteen or sixteen years of age, and placed in a monastery of the Minor Conventuals of the order of St. Francis; where there quickly appeared in him a great acuteness of wit, and a wonderful pregnancy of parts, but withal such a pride and rancour of nature, such a malice and appetite of revenge, that he was loved by very few, and frequently removed from one house to another by his superiors, only for preservation of the peace of the convent. Yet the fame of his parts made a much greater noise than his ill nature and ambition; which was best, if not only, known to his own order, to which he was always odious, and where all who had ever offended him underwent some chastisement from him in the whole progress of his fortune; and when he was made General of his order (by the omnipotency of Pius the Fifth, and against the express consent of the Electors, who had chosen another) he took vengeance of all who had ever crossed or offended him in that great body.

The same Pope made him a Cardinal, when he assumed the title of Montalto, the place of his birth; and after that promotion, from an angry ambitious and active course of life, he wholly changed his nature, and his manners; no man more civil to all conditions of men, more humble, more retired from all business, which in a short time gets the reputation of devout: he built him a little house, in a bigger garden, where he lived with a small family with great frugality, and seldom went out so much as to congregations,
except

except he was deputed ; and seemed more to have CHAP.
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he

CHAP. he might escape being jostled, and letting some part
 VIII. of his robe hang in the dirt, that the people generally believed him to be cracked in his understanding: yet he was known to be charitable, and as great a dispenser of alms, as could be administered from his small visible revenue. This condition of life, during the long reign of Gregory, made him so totally forgotten, that when he came out of the next conclave Pope, there were very many in Rome who had never seen him, though he had never been out of it.

His arti-
 fices in the
 conclave.

The art that made him chosen Pope hath never been made use of by any man since; at least hath never had success. To seem older than he was, and more infirm and broken in health, is a vulgar artifice, and naturally advances the pretence: but to appear weak, and almost a fool, and incompetent to conduct any affairs of moment, was the first expedient that ever a candidate for the greatest government in the world, and in the most active age, depended upon; and yet upon this was all his hope: though his age was well known to many not to exceed threescore and four, he seemed to be decrepit at the rate of fourscore; he supported himself in that manner upon his staff, that he looked always as if he would fall; and when any of the Cardinals spoke to him of the business of the conclave, he seemed not to understand it, nor to be capable of acting any part towards it; so that they who had not been formerly acquainted with him, wondered what was become of those abilities which had brought him thither. He visited the heads of the several factions with all humility, and promised every one of them his vote to be disposed of as he thought fit. When they had been long enough together to discover that any man
 whom

whom either of them should set his heart upon CHAP.
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 would be excluded by the rest, some amongst the rest nominated Montalto, and found not that aversion from him that they expected. Alessandrino and Rusticucci (the former whereof was nephew to Pius the Fifth, who had raised Montalto, and was known to hate him) one evening went to his cell, and told him, that they believed that he would be chosen Pope: upon which he smiled, and said, that if he were chosen Pope, that they two must do all the business, for he was sure he could do none of it himself: and from that time both those Cardinals took all the ways underhand to advance his election; which they found the easier, by every man's believing that they had no such design, and so never entered into a combination to exclude him, which enough were ready to have done, if they had thought the intention to be real. They then found, upon conference with Cardinal Mandruccio, (the Cardinal of Austria being likewise then in the conclave,) that Montalto was one of those who would not be unacceptable to that King; whereupon they made haste to inform their friends, whilst some did not yet believe it, and others thought it too late to cross it, and so, when they came next to the chapel, they all concurred in the adoration. The good man, however, thought that not enough, but desired that the scrutiny might be called, and, whilst it was doing, he reckoned every Cardinal as he was named, until he had passed such a number as made the election sure; and then he threw away his staff, and walked as firmly to the altar, as ever he had been able to do in his life.

From this minute he was a new and another man; his manners, his gait, his words were of another nature,
His change
of beha-
viour.

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ture, and fashion, and tune; and, that he might make haste to undeceive the world, he sent for half a dozen of the Cardinals to sup with him the first night, and amongst them the two Cardinals, Alessandrino and Rusticucci, and such of the rest as, from his professions, were like to promise themselves much interest in him; and they were no sooner sat at supper, than he entertained them with discourse of the greatness of the pontifical office, of the wisdom of God in conferring it upon St. Peter alone, "*Tibi dabo claves;*" and how much they had to answer, who, when they were trusted alone, assigned it to friends or favourites. In a word, from the hour of his Pontificate, he governed as if he had been born to govern, not only inferior people, but all the Kings and Princes of the world; and no man was ever thought to have interest or credit enough with him, to divert him from any resolution he had taken, or from any strong inclination.

His conference with the Duke de Nevers.

How far this Pope was from the judgment or conscience of his predecessor Gregory, cannot better appear than by his behaviour to the Duke de Nevers; nor can there be so good an account given of that as by that Duke himself, which he gives us very particularly in the first volume of his Memoirs. It seems that Duke (who was zealous in his religion, and weak enough to be imposed upon, and had therefore an implacable animosity against those of the reformed religion, and so had been amongst the first who had signed the Covenant, and had likewise signed the letter mentioned before to the last Pope, and likewise the instruction given to the Jesuit, Claude Matthieu) had still a purposed fidelity to the person of the King, and for the conservation of the royal authority

thority against all rebels whatsoever: and (as he says) as soon as he was a little descended from that height, whither zeal, and the sense of injuries done to his wife, had blindly carried him, it was no hard thing for him to discover great pride hid under the specious appearance of much piety; and that the good Cardinal of Bourbon was not so much the chief and head, as pretext, and as it were the stalking horse of his party; nevertheless, he would not openly declare his suspicions until he had a clearer knowledge of their cause; and, for fear he might appear too light and inconstant, he continued yet firm for some time in the resolution he had taken with the Cardinal and Duke of Guise; but he writ divers letters to them, to oblige them to make such evident and positive declarations to him of their intentions, that he might have wherewith to convince them of breach of promises, in case their actions should not prove conformable to their words and letters. He did not content himself in having done this, but thought himself obliged in conscience to go to Rome, and to consult the Pope in an affair of such consequence. He rid post to Rome, and had several audiences of His Holiness. It was Sixtus the Fifth, who had very lately mounted into St. Peter's chair, by the sudden death of Gregory the Thirteenth.

He found this new Pope of a temper much differing from that of his predecessor; he was a person who was steadfast, clear-sighted, and penetrating into affairs, and who would not be abused or deceived with the outward appearance of things. When the Duke had given him an account of the cause of his journey, of the love which he had for the church, of the fear he was in from the power of the Huguenots, and

His disap-
probation
of the
League.

of

CHAP. VIII. of the torments and disquiets which he suffered in his soul, as often as he thought of an heretic Prince's being the next heir to the first crown of Christendom; the Pope commended his zeal, and comforted his mind, (which was discomposed with such fears as were not unbecoming the most generous and heroic breast,) and made him clearly see, that those men were rash and ill advised, who dared to lay their hands on their swords; that God's arm was as strong as ever to protect his Church; and, more nearly observing the sincerity of this Prince, by the tender expressions which discovered the very bottom of his heart, he thought fit to remove that veil from before his eyes, which did hide the knowledge of affairs from him, and told him, that he would not treat him like others who were not so sincere and good Christians, as to what concerned the Church, as he was; that he did take him for an honest man, and a good subject of the King's, and under that notion he would endeavour to undeceive him: and thereupon he begun to relate unto him the birth and the progress of the League unto that very day, and broke out often into this exclamation, "Oh Gregory the Thirteenth! in designing to do well, you have indeed done very ill! Your soul doth answer at present before the throne of God for the desolation of France, and for all that effusion of blood which there hath or shall be spilt."

The Duke of Nevers was very much amazed at this exclamation, and, casting himself at the Pope's feet, asked him, with tears in his eyes, what he meant? and if it were possible that there should be any treason and villany hid under that so specious name of the Catholic League? Yes, (said the Pope,) that there

there is; and I dare assure you, by an oath, that there is nothing in it but envy, and jealousy, and ambition, and desire to reign, with a thousand other crimes of the like nature; they whom they call Leaguers have deceived Gregory the Thirteenth, and his principal ministers, as they have done you; and, being only the instruments of a power which fears nothing so much in France as a peace, they take a great deal of pleasure in cheating their very selves: he added unto this all that he knew concerning the designs of Spain, and of those other Princes who depend on that crown; and, after having explained at large all the mysteries of that cabal, he made the Duke acknowledge, that they who did compose the body of that party in which he was engaged were in general the enemies of the King and kingdom: he yet continued his discourse, and, smiling, said, ‘I know very well that in this affair of yours the honour and interest of your family is somewhat concerned; I am not so great a stranger to the intrigues of the French court, as not to know (to my great regret) whatever doth pass, or is done in the King’s cabinet: I could wish, with all my heart, that he was more moderate in his affections, that he did not deprive himself (as it were) of his own thoughts, to enter into those of persons whom he loves, and that he did not give pretexts too great, and too small to complain of, and to blame his conduct. But what is there in all this which can stir up subjects to take arms against their King, and to make parties in his kingdom, to present requests, and to make declarations of an insolent nature to him, and force him (as it were) to cut off his left arm with his right, to make him take pains to depose himself, in naming a successor.’

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cessor.' The Pope then brake into tears, and said, 'Believe me, my son, I have great compassion for your miseries and your divisions, and would to God there were nothing wanting but the best of my blood to restore France to that flourishing estate in which she hath been in time past; I would give it with the love and joy of a true and tender father: but I fear that things are now come to that height, that France is no longer in a condition to suffer her evils, or their remedies.' As he had done speaking, the Duke kissed his feet, the tears being still in his eyes, and, finding himself quite another man from what he was before this discourse, he said, 'Give me your benediction, and, if you please, obtain for me that power which shall be necessary to the execution of what I now consider in my mind, and I will go from this place to the King my master; and, without the consideration of any other glory than that of doing my duty, I will consecrate to his service my estate, and my life, and rather die at his feet than fail in my fidelity, or the observation of that good advice which your Holiness hath intimated to me.' The Pope strengthened him in this good resolution, and heaped upon him blessings, giving him chaplets, and medals, and indulgences; and did so much more yet than this, that he permitted him to present him with the form and model of the Bull, according to which he would have it drawn, to let all France know what he had been to do with his Holiness, as also to uphold him with the testimonies of several Cardinals.

The Duke of Nevers being thus converted, he made what haste he could to undeceive his friends, who he thought had as good meaning as himself: he

writ

writ to the Cardinal of Bourbon, whom he believed to be an honest man, and knew to be a weak man, and gave him an account of all that had passed between the Pope and him: he told him of the time that he arrived at Rome, and that he had alighted from his horse at Cardinal Pellive's house, (who was the chief confidant of the League,) who received him with great demonstrations of joy, and told him presently, that he was come too late; that things were very much changed; and that, since the election of the new Pope, the affairs of France were looked upon with an eye wholly different from that with which they were lately beheld; that those who had been the most hot for the Catholic party were now become so cold, whenever any proposition was made to them of advancing their design, they now talked of nothing but of that obedience which subjects owe to their lawful Prince, and of the ill opinion which his, the Cardinal's, retreat from the court had given to all Italy: he left it to him to conjecture, whether he, the Duke, had not been much surprised with this news; and if, knowing the sincerity of his, the Cardinal's, intentions as he did, he did not blame the lightness of the persons of that court: he told him then of the manner of the Pope's reception of him, and that, as he was about to speak to him, (after he had told him that he was glad to see him, and that he was a true Israelite,) the Pope interrupted him, and said, I make no question but that the intention of the Cardinal of Bourbon is good; and I will believe that that of his confederates is the same; and, above all, I have had so particular a declaration of the sincerity of your's, as I am persuaded that your conscience only is the rule of your actions, and that in the en-
h h gagement

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gagement which you have with the Cardinal, and the other united Princes, you have no other end but the glory of God, and the conservation of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion; but, granting this to be so, in what school, I pray you, have you learned that men are obliged to make parties against the will of their lawful Princes? To which the Duke confesses, that he answered him with some warmth, and commotion; 'Most holy Father, it is with the consent of the King that these things are done.' Upon which the Pope made this reply: 'I see you begin to be hot already; I thought you had come to me to hear the words of a father, to take his advice, and to conform yourself thereunto; and yet I see that the same spirit reigns in you which is in all those of your society; you cannot endure to be reprov'd, you agree to come to a justification of your proceedings, and then condemn every body's opinion but your own. Undeceive yourself; if you will believe me, the King of France hath never consented in good earnest to your League, or to your arms; he looks upon them as attempts against his authority; and though the necessity of his affairs, and the fear of a greater mischief, force him to dissemble it, yet he holds you all to be his enemies; and that more terrible, and more cruel ones, than either the Huguenots of France, or any other Protestants whatsoever. I will go on farther, (said he,) and yet say nothing which the knowledge I have of the nature of Princes, and of yours in particular, will not warrant me to speak with certainty: I fear lest things will be driven on to that height, that at last the King of France (as Catholic a Prince as he is) will be compelled to call in the Heretics to his assistance, to deliver him from
the

the tyranny of those of the Roman church.' He complained often of Gregory the Thirteenth, and of Cardinal Cosmo, and accused them of having kindled the fire, and spilt the blood, of all Christendom, by the consent and approbation with which they had fomented the League and the union of the French Catholics: and so, the Duke concluded, that they might both see how far they were from what they expected, and what hopes they had of those temporal and spiritual succours, which they sought in that place. The letter was dated at Rome, upon the last of July fifteen hundred eighty-five, and may be found in the 667th page of the first volume of that Duke's Memoirs.

Shortly after this discourse, the news came to Rome of the peace made by the King with the Huguenots, upon which the Duke of Nevers had another audience of the Pope, and of which he gave the Cardinal of Bourbon another relation, by a letter dated within twenty days after the other. He then told him, that things were looked on quite otherwise in Rome than they were in France; the reunion of all the Catholics under one head had seemed to them in France a sovereign remedy for the extirpation of heresy, and for the preservation of the Church; and yet that the Pope had but just then told him, that there was never any conspiracy formed which was more pernicious either for the Church or State, than that of the League; and that he doth praise God that it doth appear, as it were, stifled by the bounty of the King, and by the approbation which he seemed to have given to all that had been done; but if the pardon and reconciliation be not so sincere as they seemed to be, they should see in a short time

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the unhappy consequences which they would have. 'It will be necessary, said the Pope, with tears in his eyes, that the King of France treat the Catholics as his greatest enemies; that he draw forces out of Germany, England, and other Protestant countries, to make himself master in his own kingdom; that he make dishonourable conditions with the King of Navarre, and with the Prince of Condé; and that he overrun all France with Lutherans and Calvinists: behold (said he) the blessed effects of their union, and the happy issue of your taking up arms; believe me, and delight not in cheating yourselves. You are the uncle of a sovereign Prince, and although he be not King of France, yet he hath as noble thought as a King of France can have. Go to Mantua and consult him concerning what hath been lately done in France; ask him what he would do, if he were in the place of the most Christian King; and you shall find, that he doth not discourse as the Cardinal of Bourbon, nor as the Prince of Lorraine do: I look upon you as a Prince of great sincerity and without interest; I do not doubt but that you are a very devout and religious person, and that you do what you do from the instigation of a true zeal: this being so, you will do well to retire with a firm resolution not to abuse or violate that peace which the King had given them; reunite yourself with him in good earnest, and give him that advice you shall judge best for the extinguishing of heresy and factions in the state. I have some experience of things, and I think I see clear enough into the time to come to speak very boldly, but yet very truly, concerning one affair; and that is, that the Huguenots can never be ruined, except the League be also: upon this you may

may safely resolve, and do not stay till time do make CHAP.
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 you wise ; for it hath never made any person so who
 hath not bought his wisdom with his own over-
 throw. I will not weary you with the length of this
 discourse, (said he, in letting fall his voice,) but I
 confess to you, that my very heart doth bleed when
 I consider that the most glorious kingdom of the
 world, and as it were the flower of Christendom, is
 in extreme danger to become a prey to foreigners,
 like another Jerusalem, and to be destroyed by those
 very hands which ought to defend it.' And with this
 information, advice, and benediction, (and indeed
 prediction,) the Pope took his last leave of the Duke,
 who made haste to return to France.

Thus far we see the transcendent difference be-
 tween the divinity and the policy of Sixtus V. and
 of that of Gregory XIII. and how, in a moment,
 the whole court of Rome became changed or con-
 verted. It cannot be believed that they both re-
 ceived their dictates from the Holy Ghost, and
 therefore it could not be enough wondered at, if
 there were not some inherent malignity in the office,
 that this Pope (after so rational and conscientious
 discourses of his own, without any the least altera-
 tions in the case, from the time of those discourses,
 except some successes of the League against the
 King) should so much change his opinion, that by
 degrees he exceeded Gregory in all the acts of injus-
 tice, outrage, and impiety ; and for the advancement
 of the Catholic, that is, the religion of Rome, pulled
 up Christianity by the roots. They of the League
 were so careful to publish in print their victories,
 and made them so much greater than they were,
 with new and old reproaches upon the King for his

Sixtus V.
 publishes a
 Bull against
 the King of
 Navarre
 and the
 Prince of
 Condé.

CHAP. VIII. breach of faith, and for the ill spending his time, together with his underhand and secret treaty with the King of Navarre, (managed, as they said, by Du Plessy Mornay, who was known to have been in private with the King,) that the Pope believed all; not without apprehension that the Leaguers might be able to do all their mischief, without his help: and therefore, that he might have some share in it, he issued out his Bull of fulmination against the two Princes, in a style agreeable to his humour, and the contempt he naturally had of all Princes. He declared Henry, called King of Navarre, and Henry Prince of Condé, “*lesquels il appelloit, Génération “ bastarde et détestable de l’illustre maison de Bour- “ bon, Hérétiques relapsés, Chefs fauteurs et protec- “ teurs de l’hérésie &c.*” and, as such, fallen under the censure contained in the sacred canons; he deprived them of all their lands, signiories, and dignities, and pronounced them to be incapable to succeed in any principality, particularly to the crown of France; and absolved their subjects of any oath of fidelity they had taken to them; and forbade them to render any obedience to them, under the penalty of incurring the same excommunication.

Monsieur Mezeray observes, that this blow, which was thought would prove fatal to the Princes, was much more disadvantageous to the Holy Chair than to them; for it did not only exceedingly provoke and enrage the Huguenots, but many Catholics, who were most zealous for the defence of the truth, and of the liberties and privileges of the Gallican church, were the more curious and diligent to search the ground and the bottom of that authority, which the Pope assumed over the crown; and they could
not

not find that in the councils or canons which they at Rome imagined. The Princes themselves were so far from being disheartened by this excommunication, and their friends from forsaking them, that they found means to get a placart or writing to be set up and fastened in the most public and notorious places in Rome itself; in which they appealed from the sentence of the Pope, for whatsoever was temporal in it, to the Peers of France; and for the crime of heresy, to a future Council, before whom they cited the Pope to appear, and declared him to be Anti-Christ if he refused to appear before it. This Bull likewise awakened the King to an apprehension that it was an attempt made by which they might facilitate the way towards his own deposing; and therefore he published an Arrêt, straitly forbidding that that Bull should be published in France.

The Pope easily found that he had got no ground by this Bull, more than that it increased the confidence of the League in him; whereas they before looked upon him as an enemy; and it made it likewise necessary for him to enter into a closer correspondence with them: yet they could not prevail with him to do any act immediately against the King, or to send a Legate to reside amongst them, (both which they very importunately desired,) until after the killing of the Duke, and Cardinal of Guise at Blois; which, if ever any assassination was or can be lawful, could not be avoided with the retention of his own sovereignty; they being so strong and powerful, that though their guilt of high treason and rebellion was known to all the world, and manifest to the whole kingdom, yet he could not have justice upon them by the administration of any judicatory; all degrees

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Assassina-
tion of the
Duke, and
Cardinal of
Guise at
Blois.

CHAP. of men being so terrified with their power and au-
 VIII. thority ; and at that very time when they were cut
 off, they had conspired to compel him to transfer his
 regal power from himself to such persons as would
 be guided and governed by them.

Proceedings
 of the Pope
 upon this
 transaction.

The news of this was no sooner brought to Rome, than the Pope let himself loose to all the thoughts and resolutions that passion and revenge could suggest to him. When the news came first to Rome of the death of the Duke of Guise, (which was a day or two before that of the Cardinal's,) the Pope seemed neither surprised with it nor moved at it ; neither from his own conscience upon the intolerable insolence and provocation of that Duke towards the King, nor from the relation that he received from his Nuncio, who was well affected to the King, and gave an account of that action as a thing the King could not avoid consistently with his dignity or the security of his person. But when the next messenger arrived with the account of the death of the Cardinal, and that the Cardinal of Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons were generally believed to be in the same danger, being under the same Arrêt, the Pope, "*qui faisoit gloire de marcher sur les têtes souveraines,*" (as Monsieur Mezeray says,) would not lose this occasion to shew his puissance and his courage. Though he himself used all the Cardinals with that insolence and contempt as if they had been his simple valets, and talked frequently when he was with any of them that he would unmake and degrade him ; and although he had lately caused a Bull to be read in the Consistory, by which he declared St. Bonaventure Doctor of the Church, and did not ask the opinion of the Cardinals thereupon ; for fear the com-
 pany

pany should go against him, as the congregation of CHAP.
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 Cardinals which he had appointed for that affair had done; of which assembly there being one sent unto him, to tell him they were of the opinion that he ought not to make St. Bonaventure Doctor of the Church, he had answered, that he would do it nevertheless, for that the Holy Ghost was with him, and that it was to him, and not to the Cardinals, that the Holy Ghost was promised: yet as to all others, he raised the style and title of Cardinals much higher than they were before, and had equalled them to Kings by his Bull that he had published in the second year of his Pontificate; in which he declared, that they were “*verè sal terræ ac lucernæ positæ super candelabrum, ut inter sanguinem et sanguinem, causam et causam, lepram et lepram discernant &c.*” all Christians were to observe their precepts and directions as “*regulæ et normæ rectè vivendi;*” that their high quality and condition could not be doubted, when the Pope himself, being a member of that body, is chosen by and out of that number, “*qui tunc de mùm publico bono Christiani populi optimus sine ullâ disputatione existet;*” and therefore, as the monarch of the world, he confers many privileges and immunities, even to the restraining and nullifying any thing that shall be done to the contrary by any of his successors as to the number; namely, not to exceed seventy, according to the example of Moses in the choice of seventy, and according to the number of the seventy disciples; which rule his successors, as to the number, have been contented to submit to, with a total rejection of all the other rules and orders prescribed in that Bull. So that, as if he sensibly felt that one of the limbs and members of his
 own

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own body was cut off in the violent death of that Cardinal, he cast nothing but wildfire out of his mouth, and talked of nothing but doing justice upon the King, as if he had been one of his meanest subjects. Yet he paused so long as to send a positive command to the King, that he should immediately set the Cardinal of Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons at liberty ; and as soon as he received excuses for the not doing thereof, upon the most substantial reasons of state, he presently issued out a monitory in this form : in the first place, he renewed his command for the liberty of the Cardinal and the Archbishop within ten days after the publication of the said monitory ; in default whereof, he declared that the King had incurred the ecclesiastical censures, especially those which are contained in the Bull, "*In Cœnâ Domini*," from which he could not be absolved but by the Pope himself, except in the hour of death, and upon caution to give satisfaction if he lived ; and he required him farther personally to appear at Rome within threescore days, and revoked all those indulgences faculties and privileges which the Holy Chair might have granted to him, or to any of his predecessors, to the contrary.

The King's
conduct.

This rage, and the necessity of his affairs, kept up the King's spirits to that degree, that he prosecuted his resolution to join with the King of Navarre and the Huguenots ; and preserved his dignity in withholding any kind of compliance with the Pope's usurpation. And therefore he writ to his ambassador at Rome, and to the Cardinal Joyeuse, who was then Protector of France in Rome, and in whose Memoirs, the truth whereof nobody hath questioned, it is recorded, that they should consult together, whether,

ther, in respect of the Cardinal, it would be necessary CHAP.
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for his Majesty to have the absolution of his Holiness ; advising them nevertheless, before they made any overtures thereupon, to carry themselves in such manner that nobody might pretend to attribute to themselves a greater power over the Kings of France than that which had been acknowledged in time past. He says, that, since the writing of that part of the letter, he had found a brief which his Holiness had sent him heretofore, by virtue of which the Doctors in Divinity had judged that he might be absolved from this by any Confessor whom he would please to choose ; according to which resolution he had confessed before the Theologue of that city, a man very famous for learning, piety, and integrity of life, who had given him absolution, after which he had communicated and received the body of our Lord upon the first day of the year.

But the Pope was too strong to be bound by such weak obligations, and well understood the advantage he had by the irresolute nature of the King, and even from his conscience, which he knew to be wholly devoted to the Catholic Religion ; and that mere necessity, which he had foreseen and foretold, had produced that conjunction with the King of Navarre : and therefore, without any consideration of all that he had said to the Duke of Nevers, and which he had often repeated to the Marquis of Pisavy, who was afterwards, and long before, ambassador from the most Christian King at Rome, (to whom he had frequently exclaimed in the same manner against Gregory the Thirteenth, and the treason falsehood and iniquity of the League, even at the time when he had received an agent from the Duke

The Pope sends a Legate to Paris to assist the League.

of

CHAP. VIII. of Guise,) he now made haste to send a Legate, which Gregory could never be prevailed with to do, to reside at Paris, and to assist the League in all their counsels, and to promise all possible assistance from his Holiness. And the Legate writ him word afterwards, that if he had not caused fifty thousand crowns to be delivered into the hands of those who were entrusted by the League, all strangers would have returned home, and that the principal persons of Paris would enter into a peace with the King; which very probably would have been the case in a short time, considering how strong the King's forces grew suddenly to be, (not only by the King of Navarre's joining all his Huguenot troops to those of the King, but by a great access and conflux of the Catholics, out of indignation to see their King treated in that manner by his rebellious subjects, under the pretence of Catholic Religion, and that they called in the aid of foreigners to subdue France,) so that he was able in a short time to bring his powerful army to the very gates of Paris, and to restrain provisions from entering into the city.

The Pope
excommu-
nicates
Henry III.

But now the power of the Pope appeared, who had made himself so terrible to that nation, as if they really believed whatsoever he said to be the word of God. There was no other rhetoric used in the pulpits, but to defame the King, and to render him odious to the people; nor can there be a greater instance of the malignity and frenzy of that time, than the declaration and resolution then published, upon a solemn consultation by the college of Sorbonne, that the Frenchmen were absolved from their oath of fidelity, and from all duty and obedience to Henry of Valois; and that they might with a good conscience
take

take arms against him; which I wish may be forgotten for their resolute determination of the contrary upon all occasions since that time, as their predecessors had always done before, in spite of all judgments pronounced by the Pope himself. But the divinity was current then; insomuch as a young melancholic Friar of the order of St. Dominick, of the age of five and twenty years, intoxicated with that doctrine, under pretence of delivering some secret message to the King from some of his party in Paris, stabbed him in the belly with a knife in such a manner that he died the next day. So quick an operation had the Pope's excommunication! For his monitory, after the days of notice were expired, was become so effectual an excommunication, that, being issued but in the beginning of May, it murdered the King on the second of August following.

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VIII.

Assassina-
tion of
Henry III.

The news of this horrid parricide was no sooner brought to Rome than the Pope presently called a Consistory, that he might be the first reporter of it; when he made the relation of it in such a manner as made it evident that he was well enough content to be thought the author; and he even solemnized the memory of that accursed Friar for his unparalleled zeal and courage, in that infamous speech of his in the Consistory, of which there are too many records preserved to have it ever forgotten. Indeed Sixtus the Fifth had gone too far to retire; and, having brought this fate upon one King, whom he knew to be a Catholic, only upon his suspicion of favouring heretics, it cannot be wondered at that he prosecuted his blow with more resolution and fury against the heretic himself who succeeded him; and who he knew had a spirit as great as his own, if he were not quickly

The Pope
commends
the assas-
sin.

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quickly suppressed, to take full revenge upon those who had so near destroyed him. They of the League persuaded him that they owed their deliverance from their late King (whom they loaded with all reproaches of perjured murderer and tyrant, and the like) to his monitory, which was not ingrateful to him, and made him believe that, with the continuance of his favour, they should be in a short time able to overthrow and ruin the new Pretender; so that he began to fancy that he should have a principal share in the choice and appointment of him who should be thought worthy to wear that crown. Yet he gave orders to the Cardinal Cajetan, his Legate, that he should use all his endeavours that France might be provided of a pious and a Catholic King, and one that would be agreeable to all good Frenchmen; that he should consult with the ambassadors of Spain and Savoy, and hear what propositions they would make; but to shew himself entirely disinterested, and not to engage himself on the behalf of any pretender, insomuch as he should as readily hearken to the King of Navarre himself, if he would give any such hope of being reconciled to the Church in such a manner as might consist with the honour and dignity of the Holy Chair. He did wish, and had many of the League concur with him, that the Cardinal of Bourbon might be declared King, who was by many called by the name of Charles the Tenth, and in Paris they coined money in his name and with his effigies; at which the King of Spain and all his party of the League were much offended.

Abandons
the League.

This made the Pope again withdraw his good opinion from the League, when he discovered that all their pretence of Religion was resolved into faction
for

for the Spaniard, and to set the crown upon his head who should be chosen or appointed by him; and the death of the Cardinal of Bourbon at that time in prison made them less reserved towards that inclination. But the Pope was so averse from any such thought, that he utterly refused to issue out or renew his excommunication against the new King, which he was with all importunity urged to do by the League, as well as by the ambassador of Spain: and when he saw the King, after he had been compelled, upon the assassination of the last, speedily and in disorder to withdraw his army from Paris, and in few days reduced unto so great straits that it was believed that he fled with a purpose to transport himself into England, and seemed to be deserted as well by the Huguenots as Catholics, (which information was by courier after courier transmitted to Rome;) I say, when he saw this King, by the vigour and activity of his own spirit, gather an army together, reconcile many of the principal Catholics to him, without so much as making a promise to change his religion; that he fought with his enemies and beat them; that he took towns, and had brought his army to besiege Paris itself; he grew to express an extraordinary high esteem of the King, and as much to undervalue the League, and to mention them with disapprobation and contempt. Nor was he at all reserved in publishing a particular hatred against the pride and ambition of the Spaniard, insomuch as, when it was known that he had amassed together five millions of gold in the castle of St. Angelo, and Philip the Second sent to him to furnish a sum of money for the advancement of the Catholic Religion and the extirpation of the heretics in France, he did
not

CHAP. VIII. not only refuse it positively and absolutely, but in such a manner, and with that sharpness of words, as could not become any man who did not believe himself to be much superior to the other: all which made Harry the Fourth very much to lament his death, which fell out little more than one year after his coming to the crown.

Death and
character of
Sixtus V.

It cannot be doubted but that if Sixtus the Fifth had lived to that age, or the King had chosen to do that in his time which he did afterwards in the change of his religion, that Pope would have so entirely wedded his interest, that Spain would have felt it in all its dominions; for he was a man who did nothing by halves, and was without any fear of any earthly power. The truth is, he was an original, and in many respects a much greater Pope, than any who was before him, or any who hath succeeded him. He did, in the six years of his reign, more acts of magnificence in his glorious buildings in the city of Rome itself, (besides what he raised in other places,) than any three Popes who had been before him, or have come after him; and all for the benefit of the public: he left a greater treasure of money behind him in the public treasury than ever was before or since enclosed within the walls of the castle of St. Angelo: and in the impartial administration of justice (except where his own supreme jurisdiction and authority seemed to be contested, or circumscribed and limited) very exact and severe: indeed, in all matters that related to the other, he could endure no bounds, nor cared to transgress any. His greatest pride was (which was his predominant vice) to make it believed that all Kings and Princes were inferior to him, and stood in need of him, and that he had

no

no need of any of them, or the least dependance upon them. At the same time that he gave countenance to the League in France, by which he obliged that King to the utmost, he used no ceremony, nor shewed any regard, towards Spain; but when the first Hackney was presented to him at the usual time and with the usual formality, and when the Grandé, in great lustre, presented it in the name of his Catholic Majesty, and as his acknowledgment for the kingdom of Naples, the Pope made no other answer or ceremony to the ambassador, but that it was very small rent for so very large a farm, and presently turned away: and when he was shortly after informed that the King of Spain had restrained the building any more religious houses in Spain, and saw a Pragmatique that he had lately published against the Clergy's intermeddling in some affairs, he bitterly inveighed against the former, and said he had meddled with that he had nothing to do, and he would give order that he should not be obeyed therein; and for the Pragmatique, he said he would send it to the Congregation for the prohibition of books, with order that they should insert it in the next catalogue of prohibited books, with their censure, that the author of it might be looked upon as a Lutheran, and an enemy to the Catholic faith.

The Cardinal Joyeuse, in his letter of the fourth of November fifteen hundred eighty-six, to King Henry the Third, tells him, he did believe that the levies which had been lately so much spoken of between the Pope and the Duke of Savoy, for the enterprise of Genoa, had been made in expectation of what would be the success of that in England, (which was that design of Parry's upon the Queen of

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VIII.

His communication to Cardinal Joyeuse respecting Queen Elizabeth.

CHAP. VIII. England, which hath been mentioned before,) that they might be ready to make use of that occasion, in case it proved favourable, rather than really to execute that of Genoa; because they had seen, that as soon as that of England had been discovered, the forces which had been ordered to march with so great haste stopped on a sudden, and nobody at present spoke a word of Genoa. He said, the Pope spoke to him very earnestly to recommend to his Majesty the Queen of Scotland, who he heard was suspected to have some part in that conspiracy lately discovered against the Queen of England: and His Holiness said, that he could not choose but pity that poor Queen very much; and that, for his own part, he durst hardly speak of her, there not being wicked men wanting who would accuse him to have had a share in that enterprise against the Queen of England; and therefore he did desire his Majesty, who, he said, he knew could at that time do what he pleased with the Queen, to do his utmost to procure her liberty. The Pope confessed to the Cardinals, that he would not deny but that several persons had addressed themselves to him, offering to murder the Queen of England, but that he had always rejected them, as being an action which he did detest and abhor.

The Cardinal told the King, that the Pope said, that the Queen of England was an Infidel, deprived of her kingdom by apostolical censures; and that he was very sure, that, in conjunction with the King of Denmark, the Duke of Saxony, and the other Protestant Princes, she had sent to treat a league with the Turk, and to persuade him to make a league with the Persian, and then to turn his whole forces against the

the Emperor and the two Kings of Spain and France; and that she and her adherents would join themselves to and march with the Turks; and His Holiness assured him that the Turk began to hearken to that league, which the Queen of England and the other Protestant Princes proposed to him; and that he had sent them word, that as for the year fifteen hundred eighty seven, he could not possibly arm himself to undertake any great expedition whatsoever; but that if the same Princes did continue of the same mind, he did promise them, that, against the year eighty-eight, he would gather together the greatest armies, both by sea and land, that had ever been seen: so that seeing the danger that Christendom was like to run, His Holiness desired that the Catholic Princes would prepare betimes, to the end that they might not be taken unprovided; and that one of the principal means would be to gain the Queen of England, and convert her to be a Catholic, which he desired his Majesty would endeavour to do. CHAP.
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It is very probable that the Pope used those discourses of the correspondence between the Queen and the Turk (since it was not probable that he could believe or imagine any such thing) with a prospect toward the Spanish engagement for the year eighty-eight, with which he was well acquainted; and both to give some colour to those preparations, as if they were made only to resist and repel the Turks, and to induce all Catholic Princes to have arms ready against that conjuncture of time. Nor can it be presumed, because of the continual differences and animosities which were between the Pope and Philip the Second, that he was not entrusted with that affair; for though their great pride irre-

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VIII.

conciled their persons to each other, yet their passions and rage were equal against the Protestants, and against the person of that Queen ; and there is abundant evidence that Sixtus was entirely trusted with that design, and was depended upon to prepare the Catholics of England to make the best use they could of that occasion and opportunity. It was a common saying of that Pope in his ordinary discourses, and the same Cardinal told the King that he said the same thing to him, that one ought to treat a Turk, who came to render himself Catholic, quite otherwise than a Heretic : that as for a person born an Infidel, he would go to meet him to embrace his good will ; but a perjured Christian he would stand still and expect his coming, and treat him (in order to his conversion) as the Church doth direct. After all this extravagancy, he did not dissemble the having a secret inward reverence for Queen Elizabeth ; and would often say, that there were but three Princes in Europe who knew how to govern, Elizabeth, Harry the Fourth, and Sixtus.

When I consider and weigh all his actions and behaviour, during his short reign, he seems to me really to have believed (which I think few others have done) that he was deputed by God Almighty as the universal monarch to govern and reform the whole world ; and that Kings were as much his subjects as any other class of men : and if Kings well examined and considered the acts of his and his predecessor Gregory's pontificate, they would be convinced how impossible it is that God hath assigned such a power and authority to the Bishops of Rome, and how impossible it is for them to live in any security, to have their subjects obedient to them,
and

and the laws observed, whilst they are suffered to imagine that the Popes have any such jurisdiction committed to them by God. CHAP.
VIII.

The three successors of Sixtus stayed not long enough upon the stage to afford us much matter for enlargement. Urban the Seventh, who was his immediate successor, reigned but thirteen days, and left little more memorable behind him, than his message to his kindred, that they should forbear to come to Rome, and should neither accept titles or preferment from him. How true he would have continued to that resolution may be doubted, by the inconstancy of some of his successors after as solemn a profession. As short as his reign was, he manifested so much prejudice and displeasure against the League, that the French writers would have it believed that both Sixtus and he were hastened away by the direction of Spain; though either of them, being above seventy years of age, seemed not to stand in need of any other poison for a vehicle than the number of their years. Urban VII.

Gregory the Fourteenth, who followed Urban, and was a Milanese, though he reigned but ten months, quickly made it appear whose subject he was; and wholly betook himself to the advancement of the interest of his own King; and presently issued out two monitories, the one addressed to the Prelates and Clergy of France, the other to the Nobility Magistrates and People: by the first, he excommunicated all those who did not retire from the obedience possessions or train of Henry of Bourbon within fifteen days, and at the expiration of those fifteen days they were to stand deprived of all their benefices; by the second, he exhorted them to do the same, if they Gregory
XIV. ex-
communi-
cates Hen-
ry IV.

CHAP. VIII. would not turn the good will of a father into the severity of a judge; and in both of them he declared Henry of Bourbon excommunicated, and deprived of all his kingdoms and dominions. The Duke of Maine understood his own condition too well to be pleased with these transactions, and did all he could to prevent the publishing them in the places and towns which held for the League, and which Landriane (the person employed by the Pope) caused speedily to be done: and France as quickly appeared less Catholic than it was thought to be at Rome.

Henry IV. assembles the Parliament, which condemns the Pope's Bulls.

The King had forbidden the Parliament to meet any more at Paris, and ordered them to assemble at Tours; and so many of them as were not united to the League, or had not his secret licence to remain there for his service, yielded obedience to his commands, and came to Tours; where they again divided themselves by his Majesty's orders; and part of them remained there, and the rest resided at Châlons. The Chamber at Châlons declared those Bulls of the Pope to be null scandalous and seditious, full of imposture, and contrary to the decrees and canons of the Councils and to the rights of the Gallican church; and ordained that they should be torn and burnt by the hand of the hangman; that Landriane should be apprehended, and ten thousand livres recompence should be given to him who should deliver him into the hands of justice; forbidding all the King's subjects to lodge or harbour him; and that nobody should go to Rome, or send money thither for any provisions or expeditions whatsoever; and ordered, that the Procureur Général should enter an appeal to the next Council lawfully called. The Chamber at Tours shewed yet more courage than that

that at Châlons, and declared Gregory to be an enemy to the peace and union of the Church; that he was an enemy to the King and to the State; that he adhered to the conjuration of Spain; that he was a favourer of rebels, and guilty of the parricide of Henry the Third. And that the Pope might see how far the King was from being thunderstruck, he reversed at the same time all those edicts which had been given against the Huguenots, and the judgments which had passed thereupon, and revived all the former edicts of pacification. It is true, that they who remained in the Parliament at Paris adhered still to the League, and pronounced those other Arrêts to be void and of no effect, being made by men who had no power, and who were schismatics and heretics, enemies to God and the church; and ordained that their Arrêts should be torn in pieces whilst the court sate; and that the several pieces should be burned upon the marble table by the executioner of justice.

The Clergy likewise assembled at Mantes, according to the King's order, and declared the Bulls to be void, unjust, and to be granted by the suggestions of the enemies to the state; but declared withal, that they would not depart from their obedience to the Holy Chair: and they then considered what order to establish for the provisions for benefices, since it was not lawful to repair to Rome. The Archbishop of Bourges made an overture, that a Patriarch might be created of France, but he was thought to have some design for himself, since, after the Archbishop of Lyons, (who was of the League,) his pretence was fairest. Others proposed, that the King should call a National Council; and the King was well pleased

The Clergy
assembled
at Mantes
also con-
demn the
Pope's
Bulls.

CHAP. that these and other expedients should be proposed
VIII. to terrify the Pope, but without any inclination to

Death of
Gregory
XIV. and
election of
Innocent
IX.

make use of either. But, during those high contests, this fiery Pope left the world, and he who succeeded him, Innocent the Ninth, lived only two months, without yielding us any matter of observation to our purpose.

The Papal
jurisdiction
not looked
upon by
the Galli-
can Church
as a funda-
mental part
of Catholic
religion.

Indeed we come next to a man and to a time that yield us argument enough of the illimited pretences and desires of the Pope, (who never could have more advantages to second them and carry them on,) and of the steadiness and contradiction of the whole Gallican Church against his authority : and I shall be the longer in the disquisition of the occurrences, because I think they yield abundant evidence that the Papal jurisdiction was not then looked upon by the Catholic Bishops and Clergy of France, as a Catholic verity, or a fundamental part of Catholic religion.

Violent
proceed-
ings in con-
clave upon
the death
of Innocent
IX.

Upon the death of Innocent the Ninth, after so short a reign, it was generally believed that the conclave would have been very short; since so many Cardinals were gone out of Rome, and it was enough known, by the late transactions in the election of the last Pope, to what party they who remained were severally inclined ; and none of the public ministers could have received instructions from their masters for the exclusion of any. At this time the Spanish faction thought themselves so much superior in number, that they declared that they were sure of as many voices as were requisite upon the scrutiny, and that there were not enough left to make an exclusion ; and so they were not reserved in publishing, before they entered into the conclave, that the Cardinal of Santa Severina should quickly come out Pope ;
of

of which they thought themselves so sure, that they intended to have gone to adoration within two hours after they entered the conclave. But they found themselves deceived; and that, even of those who had promised their votes, many withdrew out of envy to those who were thought the principal negotiators, to whom all the obligations would be acknowledged, whilst they should be thought to have contributed little thereunto. The leaders however pursued their purpose so resolutely, that, after many days, Santa Severina was so much believed to be elected, that himself declared that he would assume the name of Clement, and his cell was, according to custom, pulled down and plundered. But the opposite party made so great a clamour, crying that the votes were mistaken, and that they would have them numbered again, and the confusion was so great, and even the violence, that the Cardinals laid hands on each other; and many declared, that they would protest against the election for want of freedom; inso-much as the gravest and the best reputed Cardinals, (even of those who desired Santa Severina to be Pope,) for the scandal, desired to put an end to the present disorders, and to defer the prosecution of the great affair till the next day. And so the poor Cardinal, whose person was generally thought worthy of the promotion, returned to the place where his cell had stood, without finding the least thing there for his accommodation; and from that time (though the party still opiniatred his election for very many days, even till many of their friends were carried sick out of the conclave, and some of them died) they found their votes still decreased; notwithstanding all the promises and all the menaces they could make.

Where-

CHAP. VIII. Whereupon the Spaniards, finding they could not make him whom they desired most, yet that they could make one of their own faction, resolved that the Cardinal Aldobrandini, who was well known to their King, would be acceptable to him; and so unexpectedly they proposed him; and within half an hour there was so universal a concurrence, that he was elected, himself only resisting and refusing. The Spanish Pontifical says, that he did positively refuse to accept it, till the Cardinal of Santa Severina first released his right or pretence, and then he took the name of Clement the Eighth.

Clement
VIII. Aldo-
brandini.

Clement entered into the pontificate like a man chosen by Spain, and made his affection to the League quickly to appear, by renewing his instructions to the Legate to prosecute to the utmost their interest, and to do all he could in prejudice to the King, who was sorry for the death of Innocent, and resolved to endeavour to do all he could to divert Clement from giving himself wholly up to the interests of Spain.

Embassy
from Hen-
ry IV. to
the Pope
to declare
his conver-
sion to the
Roman re-
ligion.

As soon therefore as he heard of his election, and had likewise himself resolved to become Catholic, which he found to be necessary to his condition, he sent the Duke of Nevers (who had formerly known the Pope, and been much esteemed by him) to Rome, to assure His Holiness of the sincerity of his conversion to the Roman religion. But when the Pope knew that the Duke was in his journey, he sent Possevini the Jesuit, a man of great activity in those times and in those affairs, to meet him, and to let him know, that as a private person he should be very welcome to Rome; but as ambassador from the King of Navarre (for so he called him) he could not receive him, as not believing him

him to be a true Catholic. Notwithstanding any thing the Jesuit said, the Duke continued on his journey; and, being come to Rome, at his very first audience spake very passionately for the King his master, and as briskly against the League; and the Pope, being very much warmed at the confidence of his discourse, answered him thus: “Do not you tell me
 “that your King is a Catholic; I will never believe
 “that he is truly converted, unless an angel from
 “heaven come to tell it me in my ear. As to what
 “concerns those Catholics who follow his party, I
 “do not look upon them as disobedient, or as deserters of their religion; but yet they are bastards,
 “and sons of the servant: on the other side, they of
 “the League are the true and legitimate children,
 “and the props and faithful pillars of the Catholic
 “Religion.” Of the truth of this conference we have the evidence of the Duke of Nevers himself^a. And when the Pope himself made a relation in the Consistory of what had passed between him and the Duke of Nevers, and that he had absolutely denied to give the King an absolution, or to acknowledge him for a Catholic, the first reason he assigned was, “*ratione impenitentiae*,” which, he said, was so manifest, that from the time that he had been declared “*inhabilis ad regni successionem à sanctâ sede*,” he was so far from relinquishing what he had possessed, that he continued making war against the Catholics, and had recovered by arms and usurped a great part of the kingdom of France, “*contrâ sedis Apostolicæ sententiam*,” and endeavoured to recover the rest; and therefore it abundantly appeared, “*quàm longè*

^a In the second tome of his Memoirs, p. 414.

“*infelix*

CHAP. VIII. “*infelix iste distet à veræ pœnitentiæ signis,*” upon this, and other as weighty reasons, “*absit à nobis ut in caussâ Dei vacillemus,*” he will never consent to so irrational a request, or do any thing so unworthy the Holy Chair, nor give posterity cause to complain, that such a mischief hath been introduced by any Pope; “*quin potiùs parati sumus excoriari, lacerari, ac martyrium subire.*” But how constant His Holiness remained, and how long he persisted in those haughty resolutions, must appear hereafter.

Henry IV.
declares
himself a
Catholic
in France.

Henry the Fourth satisfied himself with the light approach he had made, and cared not so much to appear a Catholic at Rome as in France, and resolved to do his business as much, and as well, by being reputed a good Frenchman as a good Catholic, which he declared his resolution to be to his own Bishops, and that he was willing to go to Mass. He complained of the stubbornness and incredulity of the Pope, who, notwithstanding his application and tender of his obedience, had obstinately denied to grant him absolution; which he imputed to his subjection and dependance upon the King of Spain, who, they all knew, fomented this bloody and destroying war only that he might obtain the sovereignty of France for his own daughter, against the fundamental laws of the kingdom: and he therefore desired them well to consider, since he was ready to do whatsoever was believed to be necessary for the good of France, whether it was in the Pope's power to deny peace to that miserable kingdom, and to keep it always under the exercise and mortification of fire and sword. Whilst he committed this province to the Bishops, he prosecuted the war with the utmost vigour; he fought and beat his enemies, obtained every day signal vic-
tories,

tories, recovered towns, and the Catholics of the greatest quality and interest made their peace with him, and returned to their obedience; and at last Paris itself opened its gates to him, and received him with public joy.

CHAP.
VIII.

All these were powerful arguments with Clement; but notwithstanding all this, he would not desert the League; who, notwithstanding they were compelled to leave Paris, adhered still to the Pope, and had armies enough on foot, and places enough at their devotion, to give the King much trouble, until he could procure absolution, which the Pope resolved not to give, and had so much reserved to himself, that no other persons or Prelates had a faculty to absolve him. The truth is, the Pope, who was a wise man, was in great strait, and discerned that he lost all that ground which the King got, and thought himself obliged not only to maintain his own dignity, in making good all his professions and declarations, and to defend his own jurisdiction and authority entire from any invasion or neglect, but likewise to express his gratitude to the King of Spain, in adhering to his interest, and procuring all the prejudice he could to his enemies; and his ministers in Rome more importunately, because more publicly and warrantably, laboured against the Pope's granting the absolution, than any body durst solicit for it in Rome. The Spaniard, amongst their other threats and bravadoes, spoke aloud of a protestation that they had prepared to publish against the Pope, in case he should proceed to absolve the King; which was very well known to his Catholic Majesty, and that that King was too potent an enemy, and able to do too much mischief, to be provoked when he could handsomely avoid it; and

The Pope
refuses to
grant him
absolution.

CHAP.
VIII.

and therefore he was more intent in persuading him that he would never be prevailed upon to do it, than solicitous to give France any satisfaction in the hope of it; presuming (it is probable) that any necessity that might arrive to make him change his resolution would appear likewise with such evidence, as would carry an excuse with it for the doing it.

Henry IV.
crowned
and receiv-
ed into the
church by
the Bishops
of France.

Whilst these perplexities and irresolutions were at Rome, there appeared in France great consent and unity amongst the Bishops of France; and they talked and inveighed little less against the usurpation and tyranny of the Pope, than against the rebellion and treason of the League. The King was crowned at Chartres, by the Bishop of that city, with the same ceremony, and it is believed with the same oil, that he should have been at Rheims. Eighteen Bishops had presumed to reconcile the King to the Church, and to pronounce him to be a good Catholic, which no man had the courage to contradict who was within the reach of justice: and all this triumph was at the charge of the Pope, whose authority was contemned in the public discourses of the Bishops, of which there be instances enough given in another place, and to another purpose.

The Pope
better dis-
posed to-
wards Hen-
ry IV.

It was now time for Clement to look about him, in his own judgment. The Duke of Maine he knew still held out, and refused to submit to the King; but he knew as well that he despaired of any success against him, and insisted only on the punctilio of an oath that he had taken to himself, that he would never submit to the King, till he had first procured an absolution from his Holiness, which he did not think that any other power could have presumed to have given. How long this scruple was like to re-
main

main with him, in the midst of so many inconveni- CHAP.
ences, he was too good a casuist to be confident of; VIII.
and therefore resolved to follow that maxim which
he had learned in conclaves, and which is the high-
est mystery in those politics, that is, to give freely
that which he can neither sell nor keep. And so,
after he had, with great passion and indignation,
pronounced that the absolution given to the King in
France was void and invalid, and had threatened to
proceed judicially against the Bishops, who had as-
sumed a power for which they were not competent,
and for which he would deprive them, and had ap-
pointed that they should be all summoned to appear
at Rome, (which well satisfied the Spaniards that he
was firm in his resolution, and that this proceeding
would make the wound the wider,) he let fall some
words in the hearing of those who he knew would
lose no time in transmitting them; that he would
be content to hear any thing that the King or the
Bishops could allege in justification or excuse of that
absolution, which he was sure should never be con-
firmed; and therefore the King had made himself in
a worse condition than he was before.

Though the King was well satisfied in his own
conscience of the validity of his absolution, and as
resolved never to decline it, but to justify the autho-
rity and jurisdiction of his own Bishops, yet he was
very glad to lay hold on this inclination of the Pope,
and to cultivate it by all the ways he could; which
was wondered at and imputed to him by many in
that time, that when he had upon the matter done
his business by his own Bishops, and in it vindicated
the privileges and immunities of the Gallican Church,
(which would be an eternal obligation upon that
Clergy

Reasons
inducing
Henry IV.
to desire
absolution
from the
Pope

CHAP. VIII. Clergy to adhere to him,) he would then stoop to any such condescension, as to send to the Pope, who had rejected and treated him with so many indignities. But that great King understood his own business better than any of the standers-by, and resolved to part with no advantage he had got, but to get as many more as he could. He had underhand treaties with the Duke of Maine, and understood well the stubbornness of his resolution, and that he had a great party still amongst those who were discontented, and which was very numerous in the kingdom. He was glad that the number of the Bishops was so considerable that adhered to him, and which every day increased, either by the taking of the cities of their residence, or by their voluntary coming and concurring with their brethren; yet he knew there were many Bishops who were of another opinion, and who would not enter into any contest against the Pope's authority; and he discerned the sottishness of that time to be such, through the long continuance of the civil war, and the jealousy and animosity against the Huguenots, that less than an absolution by the Pope himself would not restore a general peace to France, the unity of which was absolutely necessary to his affairs. It was necessary towards the preservation of his own power and authority over his old friends the Huguenots, who were loudly offended and provoked by his conversion; and many of the principal of them did not think they were sufficiently rewarded, nor like to be, for the great service they had performed for him; and so were too well disposed to engage themselves in any new troubles and enterprise: and it was more necessary, in order to the expulsion of the Spaniard, and all his pretences,

pretences, out of France, and to the prosecution of CHAP.
VIII.
the war against him in Flanders, and in all other parts of his dominions, upon which his heart was as much set as upon the procuring peace in his own kingdom; and the more upon the latter, that he might take full vengeance in the former, to which he had as great and as many provocations, as it is possible for one King to receive from another; and this great work could neither be entered upon, nor prosperously carried on, without a full confirmed and avowed peace and correspondence with Rome, which he could not reasonably expect, without its being ushered in by his receiving absolution from thence.

There was yet another reason that was more important, and, it may be, more prevalent with that great Prince at that time, than either of the other. The King had a thorn in his side, that could not be taken out but by the surgery of Rome, without making a wound as deep and dangerous as that which was to be cured. The history of Queen Margaret his wife, and the many sallies she made in her life, are too well known not to be taken notice of, or to be too much enlarged upon. And how to remove that incommodity, without which he saw, by his want of issue, he should probably leave France in as bad a condition as he found it, he could find but one way, at least one that he was willing to take; namely, the power and jurisdiction of the Pope. The doctrine of dispensations in common and ordinary marriages, upon the least relation in blood alliance or other pretence of consanguinity, had been so long acknowledged to be of the Pope's spiritual authority, that it was even become incorporated into the municipal and fundamental laws of France; and though it had

K K

been

CHAP. been in some former ages declined and contested,
 VIII. — those contradictions had been attended with inconveniences and mischiefs, which were not prudently to be invited.

Further
 reasons.

Yet the King stood in need of more than such a dispensation : there was no new marriage to be made, but an old one to be dissolved and made void from the beginning, and upon the allegations and suggestions of what was not the true ground and reason of it ; all which could never be brought to pass, but by such a plenitude of power as could never come to be disputed, and which would suffer itself to be no less conducted in the way than to the end. Notwithstanding all these invitations, which were strong enough to have induced any other man to a compliance with a power of which he stood so much in need, this great and wise King would not depart from his own dignity, nor give up any of his own or his kingdom's rights ; and therefore, though he was well content to send the Bishop of Evereux (who was afterwards Cardinal Perron) to treat with the Pope, he limited him by very strict instructions, that he and Cardinal D'Ossat (who had been long entrusted by the King, and understood the court of Rome very well) should carry themselves in that affair with such wariness and circumspection, that, in asking the Pope's absolution, they should not discountenance or prejudice that other which his Majesty had already received from the Prelates of his own kingdom, to the end that, if His Holiness should refuse him his, (which his Majesty hoped he would not do,) his reception and incorporation into the Church, obtained and approved by the Bishops of France, might not be called into doubt, nor disputed.

And

And in order to this the King gave them two procurations; the one, to demand the Pope's absolution purely and simply; the other, to ask the strengthening the things which were past, insomuch as should be needful to add thereunto the absolution of His Holiness, for the greater assurance and satisfaction of his mind: but withal, that they were not to make use of, or to shew the first procuration, if they did not find that His Holiness was fully resolved to satisfy his Majesty.

CHAP.
VIII.

How this transaction was carried, and the King's success therein, as to the manner, as well as to the matter, is so notorious, even to the creation of his two great ministers Cardinals by the Pope in the conclusion of the treaty, that it is to no purpose to enlarge upon it. From that time we may justly say, that Clement was as much French to the end of his reign, as he had been Spanish in the beginning; and as he had the skill to pacify Spain with the promise, that by having obliged France in that manner he should be able to make a peace between the two crowns; (than which Philip desired nothing more, and Henry nothing less;) so in all that concerned France, he suffered himself to be guided by the genius of that great King; and in matters which were in their nature of the most ecclesiastical cognizance, he willingly departed from the known common rules, and complied with the method proposed by the King, and never denied any thing that was positively insisted on by him. So he consented to the annulment and invalidating the King's marriage, with all the circumstances and formalities which were required, and which had never been used; and when he seemed to be averse to any thing that was desired,

Reconciliation of the
Pope and
Henry IV.

CHAP.
VIII.

he was told, that before the late disorders, and before the heresies which were now started, the court of Parliament and the great Council had determined many things otherwise than were held at Rome; and that the French Church had always had some pretensions above that which the Sacred Chair would hear or acknowledge, and that the Sorbonne at Paris had always defended several opinions, and held several maxims very disadvantageous to the Pope: which argumentations were always hearkened unto; the Pope being wisely resolved to have no more controversies with France, whilst so learned a Doctor sate in the chair.

Henry IV.
refuses to
publish the
Council of
Trent in
France.

Nor did these condescensions in him ever prevail with the King to comply with any thing he desired, if it did in the least degree shock with the policy of the kingdom. So when the Pope with all imaginable importunity pressed the King for the publication of the Council of Trent, and said, he was the more earnest in it by reason of the disorders and extreme abuses, which, he understood, increased every day more and more in the French Church, by so many French Priests, who came at present to Rome upon the account of the Jubilee, and who were so defiled and infected with so many debaucheries and irregularities, that he was not only excited to a pity, but to a horror of them in his soul; and though the good Cardinal D'Ossat, in order to prevail with the King in that particular, writ, that though the Pope was not at that time well satisfied with the King, yet if he would but please to hasten the publishing the Council of Trent, he would appease and calm all his anger; (and in truth the expedient proposed by that Cardinal to induce his Majesty to consent to it, in his

his 172d letter, in the year fifteen hundred ninety-
 nine, is very worthy not to be forgotten; namely, CHAP.
VIII.
 that in the publishing might be added thereunto
 some certain salvos and cautions, under which any
 thing whatsoever might be comprehended, as the
 prerogatives and preeminences of the Crown, the au-
 thority of the King, the independencies and liberties
 of the French Church, the indulgences of the court
 of Parliament, the edicts of agreement, and whatso-
 ever else you have a mind to except; by which we
 see what kind of reverence themselves have to the
 decrees of Councils, which they admit to be general,
 and how many ways they have to avoid their obliga-
 tions;) yet all these arguments could not prevail
 with this King to satisfy the Pope herein, nor did he
 ever suffer that Council to be received in France.

When the Pope first spoke to the Cardinal D'Os-
 sat concerning the peace between the two crowns, Papal doc-
trine of not
keeping
faith with
heretics,
and of
breaking
oaths.
 (which of all things in the world he desired to bring
 to pass,) and of the affairs of England; the Cardinal
 told him, as to what concerned the peace, the doubt
 which he had of it long before was increased lately;
 for that the King, who was always an exact observer
 of his word and promise, would have much ado to
 disengage himself from that alliance which he had
 lately renewed and confirmed by an oath. The
 Pope answered, that oath was made to an heretic,
 and that the King had made quite another oath to
 God and to him; and afterwards added, (what he
 had often before told him, and particularly in the
 audience before,) that Kings and sovereign Princes
 gave themselves the liberty to do any thing that
 might tend to their own advantage; and that it was
 come now to that height, that nobody imputed it to
 them

CHAP.
VIII.

them for crime, nor thought the worse of them for so doing; and alleged on this occasion a saying of Franciscus Maria, Duke of Urbin, who used to say, that if a Gentleman or Lord not sovereign kept not his word, it would be a great dishonour and reproach to him; but Sovereign Princes, upon interest of state, could without any great blame make and break treaties at their pleasures, make alliances, and, as soon as that is done, quit them, lie, betray, and do any thing else. The honest Cardinal said, he had too much to reply upon this discourse; but he thought it not safe to stop in a place that was so slippery: however, the King might see that the hatred which the Pope bore to heretics did transport him to that degree, that he sometime let slip out of his mouth (though under the name of another) maxims very pernicious, and wholly unworthy of a man of honour or honesty. It would not be reasonable just or charitable to say, that the Church of Rome hath long retained and doth still retain those maxims, which very many learned and pious Catholics do every day disclaim, and by their writings with great vehemence dislike and controul; nor hath any other Catholic in these late years assumed the courage to support them, or to contradict the others for want of zeal to their religion. Yet it is nothing like a calumny to believe and say, that all those principles and maxims, so destructive to human society, and contradictory to all moral honesty, are as much the doctrine of the Court of Rome still, as they were in the time of Clement the Eighth, or of the worst of his predecessors; as is manifest, by the frequent Bulls which have been issued out by several Popes since his time, for the annulling several treaties and the
most

most solemn contracts, and dispensing with and ab-
 solving from all the oaths which have been taken for
 the punctual observation thereof, in the most im-
 portant matters that concern the peace of Christen-
 dom: of which, in the conclusion of this discourse,
 we shall think fit to annex some instances. But,
 God be thanked! Catholic Princes, and indeed all
 good Catholics, look upon those scriptures as Apo-
 cryphal, and obey them accordingly. And here we
 shall for the present leave Clement the Eighth to his
 rest, and take a short view of his successor.

Clement the Eighth being dead, the Cardinal de
 Medicis was chosen, who assumed the title of Leo
 the Eleventh, and living but twenty-seven days after,
 yields us very little matter for observation. But the
 conclave in which his successor was chosen yields us
 so much and so full evidence of the evangelical pro-
 ceedings in those dark conventions, that being com-
 municated by so unquestionable authors as three
 great Cardinals, who were present in the conclave,
 Joyeuse, Perron, and D'Ossat, we should be very
 much failing to our work in hand, if we did not in-
 sert it, and in describing whereof we will use no
 other words but their own.

The Cardinal de Joyeuse, in his letter of the 19th
 of May, 1605, to King Henry the Fourth, makes this
 relation of it; “The Cardinal Aldobrandini and the
 “Cardinal Montalto with all their creatures came to
 “us, desiring us to join with them to make the Car-
 “dinal Tosco Pope. After we had discoursed a great
 “while of this business, we had much ado to resolve
 “upon it; because that Cardinal was looked upon as
 “a man who lived a life not too exemplary, very apt
 “to be cholerick and angry, who had always in his
 “mouth

CHAP.
VIII.Leo XI.
and the
conclave
for the elec-
tion of a
successor.Narrative of
the Cardi-
nal de Joy-
euse.

CHAP.
VIII.

“ mouth unchaste and immodest words, and who was
“ given to other customs unbecoming, not only the
“ head of the Church, but any person whatever who
“ had but the least advantage of an honest education.
“ In a word, he was a man from whom we could not
“ expect the least good for the Church ; the election
“ of whom would go against the conscience of many
“ pious persons of the college, and might perhaps
“ gain us nothing but disgrace and reproach from all
“ the assembly of Cardinals. Nevertheless, the little
“ hopes we had of having a Pope to our mind, the
“ fear of falling on one of those who were excluded
“ by your Majesty, the desire of not displeasing the
“ Cardinal Aldobrandini, and the opinion that we had
“ that this man would be inclined to favour the affairs
“ of your Majesty, made us resolve to assure Aldo-
“ brandini that we gave our full consent to this elec-
“ tion.” These are the very words in which that Car-
dinal made that relation of the conclave to the King,
and the other two differ not in any material expres-
sion ; and it is very notorious that Cardinal Tosco had
been chosen Pope, if the learned Baronius (from the
indignation of his soul, in a most pathetical discourse
of the horror and odium that would attend such an
election of a man so scandalous, whom he described
as much to the life, as the Cardinal Joyeuse had
done to the King) had not so wrought upon the con-
science or the shame of very many of the Cardinals,
when they were in the point of going to adoration,
that they were diverted from that intention, and would
have recompensed that Cardinal for their redemption
with the election of himself for Pope, which he as
magnanimously refused. And by this means, and
after all these foul circumstances, the Cardinal Borg-
hese

these came to be chosen Pope, and assumed the name of Paul the Fifth, and administered much matter to us of observation. CHAP.
VIII.

Paul the Fifth, from the time that he assumed the Pontificate, was in his nature as much inclined and resolved to extend the power and jurisdiction of the Papacy, as any of his predecessors ever had been. He had the activity and courage of his age, which did not exceed three and fifty years, and had a spirit as obstinate as his predecessor Sixtus the Fifth. He took counsel only of himself, and was not to be removed from what he once resolved by any suggestions from other men, or from his own reflections; and therefore was so much the more like to succeed from the strength of his own imagination and will, than the other was, by how much he had more friends and persons, who loved him and would be ready to second whatsoever he desired. But he had the misfortune to make a wrong choice and election of the object of his displeasure and emulation. Spain paid all the obedience to the Holy Chair it could expect or desire, as being well paid and recompensed for it, and received every benefit from its condescensions: France was so newly reconciled, and was in the hand of such a Prince as would not be drawn to any thing but what his own wisdom and convenience did invite to, and one whose courtesy was to be cherished and his power to be feared; both which would have established the authority of that Chair, and preserved the full reverence of his neighbours towards him, if he could have been contented to have enjoyed the greatness and power his predecessors were possessed of, though by means not very justifiable. And since his spirit could not acquiesce with that portion,

CHAP. VIII. portion, he could not satisfy his ambition better than
VIII. to suffer it to transport him to provoke an adversary,

that next to the two crowns was best able to contend with him, and least like to depart from their own rigour, to comply with his pretences or satisfy his humour. So he made choice of an enemy, from whom he could not afterwards disentangle himself, without (besides prostituting the dignity of his own person) exposing the Papacy itself to receive those wounds that it can never recover, and to be stript of all that divine authority which they lay claim to by the donative of St. Peter, by the full testimony and approbation of a sovereign body of Catholics, who, without ever giving countenance to or suffering any heretics to live amongst them, hath ever preserved the practice of the Catholic Religion with equal reputation and integrity with Rome itself. In the stating this difference there can be no partiality, since every particular of it was so notorious, that as it had called all the eyes of Christendom to behold it in a great calm after the peace between the two crowns, so it was published in all languages, and the matter of fact so fully agreed, that it would be inexcusable folly to endeavour to mislead any man by misinformation.

Dispute
with Ve-
nice.

The case then was this. The Republic of Venice had, during the Pontificate of Clement, enacted two laws; the one, to restrain ecclesiastical persons from taking certain lands into their hands, which belonged to their dignities or titles; and the other, that it should not be lawful for any person of what condition soever to erect or build any church monastery or religious house, without a licence first obtained from the Senate, upon very severe penalties, besides the forfeiture

feiture of the ground or land so given or assigned; and to these two there was a third added, (during the vacancy of the Chair, between the death of Clement and the election of Paul,) which made the two former laws, which before reached only to Venice, extend over all their dominions. It was generally believed, that Paul had brought with him some secret displeasure to that Republic in the moment that he was elevated to that Chair, and thought he could not propose an easier task to himself for the manifestation of his power, than the mortifying that Commonwealth, that so much overshadowed her neighbours. And if he had not entertained that prejudice, he could hardly so soon have published it; for, without expecting the ceremony of their ambassador of obedience, (which he was sure would speedily be sent,) he declared to their ambassador residing in Rome, that he would have that last act that had been made during the *sede vacante* to be immediately repealed and vacated. The ambassador gave the Senate notice of his demand, and from them returned this answer to the Pope; that the decree he disliked contained nothing in it that was contrary to the liberty ecclesiastic, but regarded only the secular state, over which the Republic had an absolute power; and that they had done nothing in this but what the Emperors Valentinian and Charlemain, the Kings of France, from St. Lewis to Harry the Third, King Edward the Third of England, the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and many other Christian Princes had done upon the like occasions. The Pope quickly declared that he was not satisfied with the answer; and that he had other matters to complain of, in which he expected speedy satisfaction. The Senate had lately put to death

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death a Canon for having ravished a girl of eleven years of age, and afterward cut her throat; and there were at this time two ecclesiastic persons in prison, the one a Canon, the other an Abbot; the first, for having committed a very enormous crime (that by the law was very penal) against a kinswoman of his, because she would not yield to his infamous desires; the other was accused of having committed incest with his own sister, several assassinations and poisonings, robbing in the highways, and many other great crimes. Yet the Pope, without farther examination, and against the advice of those Cardinals with whom he thought fit to confer, sent two briefs to his Nuncio at Venice to be forthwith delivered to that Duke. By the one, he was required to set those two prisoners at liberty; and by the other, to repeal those laws under pain of excommunication and interdict. But when those briefs came to Venice, the present Duke was very sick, and died within few days, so that the Nuncio could not deliver them till there was another Duke chosen: which was no sooner done, than the Senate returned the same answer they had formerly done; that the Holy Chair had sustained no disrespect in what had been done, nor was concerned therein, their proceedings having been the effect of their sovereignty upon the temporal estate; and at the same time they made choice of an extraordinary ambassador to satisfy the Pope in the grounds of their proceedings.

Conduct
of France
and Spain.

As soon as those growing differences could be taken notice of, the French ambassador, by the command of that King, performed all the offices he could towards softening the hot temper of the Pope, who spoke very loudly and scornfully of the Republic,
and

and to persuade him not to precipitate his resolutions, CHAP.
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 which might produce mischiefs that would not be so easily remedied as prevented. On the contrary, the Spanish ambassador, who drew more of the Cardinals to a concurrence with him, did all he could to inflame the Pope; as in a business wherein Religion and the dignity of the Holy Chair was concerned, and which would be prostrated and exposed to contempt, if that proud Senate was not humbled upon this occasion. The Spanish ambassador had in his own particular received some disobligations from the Senate, and was glad of this opportunity to revenge himself, and thought it would not be unacceptable to the King his master, who was enough incensed against that Republic for some encroachments they had made upon his state of Milan, or had hindered him from encroaching upon their limits, (which was an equal offence;) and he could never have such a seasonable conjuncture to reform them, as now when he had nothing to do against France.

When the extraordinary ambassador from Venice arrived at Rome, he found that he had not made haste enough; for, notwithstanding all the reasons he could offer to satisfy the Pope, or to convince the Cardinals, he found within very few days after his being there, that there was a Bull published and fixed upon all the most notorious places in Rome, declaring that the Duke and Senate, by the attempts they had made against the authority of the Holy Chair, the rights of the Church and the privilege of ecclesiastical persons, had incurred the censures contained in the holy Canons, in the Councils and in the Constitutions of Popes; and therefore it ordained, that they should put the prisoners into the hands of his Nuncio;

Bulls of ex-
communi-
cation.

CHAP. VIII. Nuncio; and declare their decrees to be null and void, and raze out of their records the memory of them: and all this to be done within four and twenty days; and in failing therein, they were all declared to be excommunicated; and after the expiration of the four and twenty days of the excommunication, for the hardness of their hearts, the city and all the dominions thereof shall lie under the interdict. Hereupon the extraordinary and ordinary ambassadors retired from Rome without taking their leave of the Pope, and returned to their own country.

Resisted
by the
Republic.

The courage of the Senate was not at all abated by this rough proceeding at Rome, but made so good use of the time assigned for their obedience, and made so wholesome orders for the exacting obedience from their own subjects, that when the time came for the interdict to begin, the doors of all churches were as open, and the altars as well supplied, and all ecclesiastical functions performed in the same manner they were accustomed to be. The Senate had made a decree, that whosoever presumed not to comply with the obligation of their ordinary function, should immediately be apprehended by the chief magistrate of the place, and without farther process be hanged; and there is no record of any one who suffered in the cause. There is only a pleasant mention of two, the one a Canon (as I remember) of Venice, the other a Curate at Padua. The former, being told by the Podesta what decree the Senate had made, and being asked what he would do in the case, he answered, that he would do as his conscience should direct him: to which the Podesta replied, that he, the Canon, should do well; and that for his part, he, the Podesta, would likewise do that which
the

the conscience of the State had directed him to do, CHAP. VIII. which was immediately to hang him if he refused it; which put the poor Canon into such a terrible fright and trembling, that he did not recover his voice and the other faculties of life in many days. The Curate of Padua had a more present understanding; and when the Podesta told him what judgment the Senate had passed, and asked him what he resolved to do, he without much pausing said, that for his part he had rather be excommunicated thirty years than be hanged a quarter of an hour; for he had always observed, that these differences between Princes were in short time usually ended, and then commonly all things were left in the same state in which they had been before: but he never heard that they who were hanged got any thing; and therefore he was resolved that he would say Mass.

The Senate observed, that all the religious orders of old institutions carried themselves with obedience and submission to the State; but those of the new foundation were refractory; as the Capuchins and the Jesuits; and that whilst the Senate took pains to satisfy the understandings of men of the justice of their cause, as well as to provide coercive laws to exact their obedience, the Jesuits were as solicitous and as active to seduce their subjects, and to incense them against the government. And therefore they presently expelled and banished both orders out of their dominions, and executed it with that wonderful expedition, that within very few days there was not one Capuchin or Jesuit to be found in any of the dominions belonging to the Republic. Yet in this their severity, they expressed much more displeasure against the latter, as a people of a more desperate

Jesuits and
Capuchins
expelled
from the
Venetian
dominions.

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VIII.

perate malice, and better qualified to do mischief. And as they made it present death for any Jesuit to be found in any of their dominions upon what pretence soever, though it was as travelling to any other place; so they made it very penal for any Senator whatsoever, or the Duke himself, so much as to propose in the time to come the restoration of that pernicious society.

Answer to
the Pope's
Bull, and
reply by Ba-
ronius and
Bellarmi-
nus.

Having thus provided for their peace and concord amongst themselves, they proceeded in making such other preparations as they thought necessary for their reputation, or their security. They first published an answer and declaration against the Pope's Monitory and Bull, and complained against the injustice and incompetency of it, stated their case truly, and shewed that their whole proceeding had been always done by their predecessors, and that they owed no account to the Pope for the same, and that he had no authority to require it: and this they printed in the name and by the authority of the Senate, and sent it to all the Christian Princes their allies, with expressions sharp enough against the Pope and his no jurisdiction. The Pope inflicted a new censure upon this new presumption; and caused his two great Cardinals, Baronius and Bellarminus, to write two conscientious discourses to prove that the Pope had done nothing that he had not only lawful authority to do, but what he was obliged by his pastoral charge to perform; and to persuade the Senate that they were obliged in conscience to submit to his determination, and to give obedience to him in the particulars he required. The names of those learned Cardinals found little submission, but very much contradiction. Some of the Senators themselves, men of great learning, took
upon

upon them to answer them; and what they writ was published by order of the Senate. Antonio Quirino, a Senator of excellent parts, writ a book, which he called, "Advice to the Subjects of Venice;" and shewed the nullity of the Pope's censures, which were therefore void, because they were inflicted where there was no crime; and with extraordinary eloquence endeavoured to convince other Christian Princes, that their own interest obliged them to support the authority of the Senate against the usurpations of Churchmen; and that the cause of the Senate was common with their own. And now that this war of the pen was entered into, every man took the liberty, divines and lawyers, all Catholics, to write their judgments upon the point in controversy; in which they examined the foundations of the pretences on either side; so that the Pope's authority received deeper wounds than could ever since be closed up.

That which troubled the Pope most was, the obedience that all the Bishops and Clergy of the Republic paid to the decrees of the Senate, notwithstanding the excommunication and interdict; for the Senate had required them not only to perform all their public offices, but to satisfy and inform all who came to them in confession that they were obliged in conscience to prefer their obedience to the State before that to the Pope; and there wanted only three votes to condemn a Jesuit to the gallows, for having advised his penitent in confession that he ought in conscience to submit to the interdict. And the famous Fra Paolo, and Fulgentio, with other religious men, had in their writings and in their sermons so much exposed the dignity and authority of the Pope

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VIII.

The Pope
levies war
against
Venice.

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to the contempt of the common people, that nobody spoke of him but in mirth and derision. All which being quickly known in Rome, inflamed the college of Cardinals as much as the Pope; insomuch as many, who had been against the precipitation of those ecclesiastical censures, and thought the subject required more deliberation, were now so transported, that they advised the Pope, that not his personal reputation, but the duty of Religion, obliged him to vindicate the Holy Chair from the reproach it underwent, and to chastise with his temporal sword those rebellious children, who had so notoriously despised his spiritual. The Pope liked the counsel, and made his brother General of his forces both by sea and land, who prosecuted the levies of men with great diligence and much expence. It was a principal argument in the Consistory for taking this resolution, that the Republic would never have the courage to enter into a war with His Holiness, knowing well enough how odious they were to all the Princes of Italy, towards whom they were very ill neighbours; and therefore they should no sooner hear of forces raised against them by His Holiness, but they would be terrified, and immediately submit to all his ordinances. The contrary appeared quickly to him; and that the Republic had not deferred making preparations to resist him till he began to arm; but had, besides those of their own subjects, which they had drawn together to prevent any insurrections, agreed for a levy of eight thousand foot, and some horse; and that they had sent for the Count of Vaudemont, who had long a pension from them, under an engagement to serve them as their general when they should have occasion; and they had now sent for him into

Lor-

Lorrain, where he lived with the Duke his father. CHAP.
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 These advertisements, with the expence he had already been at upon the small levies he had made, and the computation from thence what the charge of the war would amount unto in a short time, made him wish that the work was to begin again, and to reflect upon many things which he had not thought of before.

It is true, that, (as hath been said,) upon the first hasty discovery of his displeasure against the Republic, and the sturdy answer given to his demand by their ambassador Nani, (namely, that they governed their subjects by their own laws, and that if they should repeal any of those because the Pope was displeased with them, they had nothing to do but to send their book of statutes to him, that he might appoint which of them should be executed,) the Spanish ambassador used many arguments to incense His Holiness against them, and to extort obedience to his decrees by force, in which he was confident that he might depend upon his Master for his utmost assistance. But it was as true, that, from that time, (and though he had sent an express into Spain, to complain of the affront and contumacy which the State of Venice had shewed towards him, in vindication whereof he desired both counsel and assistance from the Catholic King,) full three months were passed without his having received any answer; nor could his Nuncio in Spain give him any account what that Court inclined to do. The King of France had indeed, upon the first appearance of the difference, sent an ambassador to Rome with great expressions of respect to the Sacred Chair, and to lament the appearance of any discord like to fall out between His Holiness and his dear ally the State of

Conduct of
Spain and
France.

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Venice; for composing whereof his Majesty offered his interposition and mediation, and he had already sent an ambassador thither, in order to dispose that Senate to what was fit, all which amounted but to a mediation, without any proffer of help and assistance if they should be refractory to what should by him be thought fit. Whereupon the Pope accepted the mediation, and permitted that the French ambassador in Venice should propose any thing he conceived reasonable towards the entering into a treaty; intimating likewise by the ambassador who was at Rome, that he believed, if an ambassador were sent from Venice to desire it, His Holiness might be prevailed with to take off the ecclesiastical censures, and to grant his absolution in order to a treaty upon the whole matter: to this however Monsieur de Fresne, the French ambassador in Venice, gave for answer to Monsieur Alincourt, who resided in Rome, that the Senate thought they had no need of an absolution, nor required, nor would accept of any; but if the Pope would first take off all his spiritual censures, they would then be ready to enter into a treaty with him.

Mediation
of Spain.

This was the highest indignity they had yet treated him with; to despise his absolution, and to propose the taking off the excommunication and interdict, without any sign of repentance, or so much as an acknowledgment of a crime. But it happened at the same time, that an express arrived from Spain with letters under the hand of that King to His Holiness, in which he gave him many thanks for his having communicated to him the dispute he had with the Republic, whereupon he had sent the Condé de Castro his extraordinary ambassador thither, to give the

the Senate good counsel, and to put them in mind of their duty to the Sacred Chair; which if it had that effect upon them as it ought to have, he would become a suitor on their behalf to His Holiness, that he would accept their submission, and restore them to his favour; but if they should continue obstinate, and adhere to the resolution they had taken, he assured the Pope that he would send all the armies he had to assist him, and likewise lead them in his own person, before Religion and the Church (which he and his predecessors had always defended) should submit to any affront. This came very seasonably to raise his drooping spirits; and he took care that it might not be concealed, but published it by all the ways he could, sent copies of it to all the Princes of Italy, and resumed his former courage for the prosecution of the war, and issued out all orders accordingly; in which he found such a universal concurrence, that all the Cardinals and city of Rome made voluntary subscriptions for the supply of very considerable sums of money towards the war: so that the Pope's General publicly declared, that there was money enough to raise an army of forty thousand foot and six thousand horse, and to maintain it for three years. Nor was the Republic untouched by the King of Spain's so unexpected declaration, but took pains to have it believed that his ambassador spoke quite another language at Venice, and made great protestations that he would faithfully observe the treaty that was between them, if he could not be so happy as to procure a reconciliation by his mediation. Certain it is, that the Spanish ambassador received nothing but great ceremony and acknowledgment of the King's bounty, in undertaking his

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mediation in so perplexed a condition as their commonwealth was then in ; for which they rendered him infinite thanks. But when the ambassador pretended that his business was to understand and be a witness of their good disposition to peace, and then to continue his journey to Rome, to induce His Holiness to the same good inclination, and therefore it would be necessary for them to make such propositions on their part, that he might inform the Pope thereof, and give the best arguments he could to make them acceptable ; he could draw no other answer from them, but that they had nothing to propose, being resolved to maintain and defend their laws, by which their government and sovereignty did subsist. At last, with great importunity, they informed him what they had offered to the French ambassador, beyond which they could make no advance ; and of which, when he had sent information to Rome, there could be no other use made, than the conviction of those, who imagined that they had an enemy to deal with that would by any menaces be wrought upon to comply ; which gave the Pope himself great thoughts of heart.

Mediation
of France.

Harry the Fourth of France looked from the beginning of this garboil as a man who resolved to have some part in it, to the composing or to the widening it ; and therefore begun early his office of mediation : and, well knowing the Spaniards' intentions to make use of this opportunity to recover some places which belonged (they said) to the dutchy of Milan, and which were possessed by the Venetians as territories of the Republic, he did not intend they should choose their enemy in Italy. This made the Republic gladly embrace the mediation ;

tion ; which the Pope durst not reject, who begun to discover that the late gaudy professions from Spain had somewhat hid under them, that which would cost him dearer than the affront he had yet received from the Venetians : and he found that they, the Princes of Italy, upon whom he most depended for their dislike of the greatness and power of the Republic, begun now to talk of the nature and ground of the quarrel ; that the books and discourses which had been written by them, and on their behalf, had made much deeper impression than those which had been printed at Rome ; that to compel a sovereign State to repeal the laws which they had thought fit to make for their own policy and good government, would no less trench upon their own interest, than upon that of Venice ; and then, for the privileges of ecclesiastical persons, which had been a doctrine most preached amongst them, and had met with least contradiction, the monstrosity of the crimes of which they were known to be guilty, produced that horror in all men, that whatever would obstruct the most speedy and the most severe course of justice was believed to be an enemy to it. It was evident enough that the Venetians would not be threatened out of their right, or their humour ; and that they would manage a war longer and better than he could do at his own charge, and by his own forces ; and that his calling in strangers to assist him (especially the Spaniards, who would be more easily called in than carried out) would inevitably irreconcile and incense all Italy against him. The Pope therefore, when those boutades were a little over, which the steady proceeding of the Senate, in their answers to the French ambassador, frequently put him into, still

desired

CHAP. desired that interposition might not be discontinued:
VIII. and his Nuncio at Paris desired the King, that he would prosecute it with a little more warmth and zeal on the behalf of the Sacred Chair, for the preservation of its dignity, and the reverence due to it. For there the King thought himself concerned to appear very tender; and, because the scene for action was like to be more at Rome than at Venice, he thought fit that the Cardinal Joyeuse should go thither; for which no excuse or pretence was to be made, since every Cardinal is thought to go home when he goes to Rome; and he was a person of whom the Pope was known to have a particular esteem. In his journey the Cardinal gave advertisement to the French ambassador at Venice, that, being to pass near the confines of that Republic in his way to Rome, if he found that his presence would not be unacceptable there, he would take their city in his way. He was well known at Venice, and esteemed as a good friend; so that his reception there was in all respects answerable to his quality. It was easy enough, by the introduction of the French ambassador, who was to observe his orders, to open a door to let himself into the treaty; and to make the Senate know, that, without any character, he knew well his master's mind; and that it was known at Rome that he did so. So that the Senate, and the Duke himself, who gave him always the hand, (which he used not to do to other Cardinals,) treated readily with him without reserve. He was well informed of all that had passed in the Court of Rome, and that the Pope was sensible that he had pulled a greater burden upon his shoulders than he was able to bear, and that he was glad to hear of his being there, and expected

pected some good overtures by him. He thought CHAP.
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some expedients might be found to compose the two main points upon which the difference had first grown; but the acts which had followed after, (namely, the excommunication and interdict by the Pope, and the circular letter from the Senate to all their officers and clergy, to prevent the ill effect of those Bulls by their want of power and authority,) were not so easy to be reconciled; since the suppressing and recalling them would still leave the omnipotence of the Sacred Chair blemished, if not blasted; except they could be prevailed with to acknowledge some excess on their part, which he found impossible. Yet there was another point more to be despaired of than the other, and without which he thought his going to Rome must be to no purpose, which was, the revocation of the Jesuits; which the Pope could not in honour recede from, and which they would never consent to.

When he knew all that the ambassador could inform him of, and collected as much as he could from the discourses, with which those of the Senate, who had been deputed to confer with him, had entertained him, he told them, that his business was to Rome, but his coming to Venice had been a voluntary act of his own; though he knew it would be grateful to the King his master, as the most probable way, to have carried somewhat with him from thence, as must have made him welcome to the Pope; whereas his judgment had so much deceived him, that by coming out of his way he had disappointed himself of the end of his journey, and must return to Paris without going to Rome; since he could impart nothing to the Pope that would not make the breach wider;

Negociations of
Cardinal
Joyeuse
at Venice.

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wider; and he seemed resolute to give over the negotiation, and to return to France. The Senate, that looked for more from his dexterity and plain dealing at Rome than from any other minister who could be employed thither, was much troubled at his declaration; and told him, that they had consented to much more upon his demand in the name of the King his master, than they could have been induced to by any other way; nor would they consent to the same hereafter upon any other interposition: that, upon his desire, they were content to deliver up the two prisoners into the hands of such as his most Christian Majesty should appoint to receive them, and who might dispose of them in such manner as that King thought fit: that for the two laws that were complained of, they were likewise, for his Majesty's sake, content to suspend the execution thereof for some time, and till some other occasion should make it necessary for the Commonwealth to proceed in that way; provided that both these concessions should in no degree reflect upon their sovereign power, nor imply that they had done any thing which they ought not to have done: and therefore that, before either of these was done, the excommunication and interdict should be repealed, and declared void: and when all should be done and executed that was mutually agreed upon, they would send an ambassador to Rome, to testify to the Pope the affection and respect they had always had for the Sacred Chair; and that they desired the same favour and kindness from him that they had still received from his predecessors: and beyond this they could not yield to any thing, without dissolving or shaking the principles of their State and Government.

When

When the Cardinal discoursed of the reverence that was due to Religion and the Church, and that it was a thing unheard of, that those censures, once inflicted, should be taken off without repentance or acknowledgment, which was the ground of all absolutions; they answered, that they were not without notable records of their constant affection to Religion and the Church, by such ample testimony of the Popes themselves, that few other sovereign Princes had the like: that they had done nothing that could offend the present Pope, but what was necessary for the preservation of that government; which had at some times exceedingly obliged, if not preserved, the Sacred Chair from violence and rapine; and without which their sovereignty could not subsist: that they could not for that reason acknowledge that they had committed any offence; nor did they desire, nor would receive, any absolution. The Cardinal then put them in mind, that, after a controversy of so unusual a nature, prosecuted to the making a war, at least to the raising of armies, many crimes and offences must have been committed by both sides; and that they, whose zeal had transported them farthest on the behalf of those to whom they thought themselves most obliged, and to the prejudice of the other party, would be in ill case, if they were left liable to all those penalties and censures which the laws of the several governments would inflict upon them; and therefore, in all the like cases, an absolute act of oblivion and indemnity was, and must always be, the necessary foundation and support of any peace that can ensue: which being so known a truth, he desired them to consider, whether it were possible for His Holiness ever to consent to any peace with the Republic, without the Jesuits being

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being restored to their primitive condition, of which they had been deprived only for steadily adhering to him, without the least charge or imagination of any other crime; and whether they imagined that the most Christian King (who had the greatest devotion to the Chair of St. Peter of any Prince living) could ever interpose or mediate in a matter so ungenerous and derogatory to the honour and dignity of the Vicar of Christ. All which they answered with silence, as a matter they were not qualified to speak in; only some of them said, that it was a transcendent evidence of the respect that the Senate had for his most Christian Majesty, that, upon his desire, they were content to restore the Capuchins, who had much provoked the State; but for the other, no man could, without his own ruin, so much as mention it, and therefore desired to be excused if they said no more upon that affair.

Proceedings
of Cardinal
Joyeuse at
Rome.

When the Cardinal found that there could be no farther concessions made by the Senate, he told them, that though he hoped little from the Pope, (and, it may be, he would not tell him that little they had proposed,) yet since he was so near Rome, he thought it would not become him to return into France without kissing the feet of His Holiness, and therefore he would begin his journey the next day; though he did defer it two or three days, to the end that the post might be there before him: and he caused the French ambassador to make a true relation of all that had passed, to that ambassador of Rome; because he knew the Spanish ambassador there would receive the same information from him at Venice, to whom the Senate had communicated it. But the Cardinal writ a letter himself to the Pope, in

in which he informed him, that he should bring that with him that would put an end to all disputes. So that, whilst the two ambassadors appeared to all the Cardinals very melancholy, and to despair of peace, the Pope himself was very cheerful, and in good humour, and told those who were most intimate with him that the peace was concluded. When the Cardinal Joyeuse arrived, he alighted at the ambassador's house, and, pretending some indisposition, he excused seeing the Pope that night, who had great impatience to be possessed of the secret. But when he had the next morning, after an audience of above three hours, heard all the Cardinal had to say, he was exceedingly offended, and reproached him for having deceived and abused him. To which the Cardinal made no other answer, than that nobody he could send would be able to do more than he had done. However, he desired the Pope to appear well pleased in public, for he had many things more to acquaint him with; and he had a secret expedient yet, which if His Holiness approved of, would put a fair end to the business, but would by no means at this time let him know what the expedient was: and when he had left the Pope to the Cardinals, who were in the next room, he used all those expressions which might persuade them, that though all was not yet to be published, they might believe it to be concluded: so that though the Pope could not dissemble his dissatisfied looks, yet the report was current through the court and town, that the peace was concluded: and the Spanish ambassador complained how much his master had been contemned, that, having offered more to the Pope than all other Princes had done, his mediation had been rejected

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VIII.

no

CHAP. VIII. no less by the Pope than by the Venetians, who had deluded his ambassador with false and vain relations, and granted all that the King of France had required.

The Pope was no better satisfied with the Cardinal's next audience, nor with his expedient. He gave a large relation of the distemper of the Senate, and of the great preparations they had made for war; that they desired not peace, but rather to reduce His Holiness to that lowness, that he might hereafter not be able to make a farther attempt upon their sovereignty; which seemed to him to be no less the desire of the clergy than of the laity; that it was very evident to him, that what His Holiness desired, and which he could only desire beyond what he had obtained, namely, the restoration of the Jesuits, would never be consented to, for that there was so universal a detestation of them, upon the discoveries which had been made of their machinations against the State before, and over and above what had happened in the last occasion, that they would never more be looked upon as subjects to the sovereignty of the Commonwealth; and that upon the whole matter he advised the Pope not longer to insist upon that point: which the Pope heard with great indignation, and angrily asked him, whether this were the expedient that he had so long reserved, and the care he had of his honour and dignity? The Cardinal answered him with some warmth again, that this was not the expedient, and that whilst he had so little care of his own condition, and of the peace of Italy, and put the state and condition of the Jesuits into an equal balance with the other, and with the Catholic religion itself, he would not find a concurrence
from

from many other Princes, nor was he capable of a rational expedient, which he would reserve to a fitter time. CHAP.
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The Pope was as much dissatisfied with the Cardinal as was possible, and took it to heart, that he had at all infused into him any hope of a reasonable composition; and that he could have so little a sense of his honour, as to persuade him to so infamous a condescension. But that which troubled him most, and of which he could see no end, was the opinion that the Cardinal (who was generally esteemed a wise man, and more versed in business than any man of that age, and whom he had always looked upon as his friend) would never have proceeded in this manner, and at last fallen to that dejection of spirit in his advice, if he had not been fully instructed by his master in all the particulars. And that imagination was attended by such a train of other jealous thoughts, that he could find no place in which he could have rest; nor durst he communicate this to any body, nor seem to have less hope of the peace than he had professed to have, for fear of being thought a weak man, and easy to be cozened. The Cardinal continued to use the same dialect still in his conversation, that the peace was in the Pope's own power; and seemed to wish that it might be debated in Consistory, where the sole point would appear to be the comprehension of the Jesuits; which would be too envious a burden for them to bear, in the disappointment of a peace, the delight wherein every body had so digested in their own thoughts. When the Pope had suffered himself for some days to be overwhelmed with the agony of these distracted thoughts, he called again for the Cardinal Joyeuse, Further
conferences
between
the Pope
and Cardi-
nal Joy-
euse.

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euse, and lamented that any of his friends should think that he ought to redeem his life at so infamous a price as the relinquishing a body of such true, and faithful, and learned friends, (who had with that courage adhered to him in a matter of conscience,) to be destroyed, and even worried by their implacable enemies; and desired him, that he would propose his expedient to him, if there were any hope that it might redeem him from the trouble he sustained. The Cardinal told him, that, next the pain his Holiness underwent, his was the most uneasy part in this great affair; that the King his master had made choice of him for this employment principally out of the knowledge he had of his entire duty to his Holiness, and his zeal for the dignity and authority of the Sacred Chair; and he was sure that that devotion alone prevailed with him cheerfully to undertake it: that he had too often passed the mountains before to take delight in those journies; and he had never intended to be present in any more conclaves; that he discerned now, to his great discomfort, that his being engaged in this unlucky business had drawn upon him the jealousy of His Holiness, which he had least suspected; and probably the ill success of it might be attended with the same dissatisfaction to the King his master, who (though he might blame his want of address) he believed would never doubt his sincerity, to the corruption whereof there was no temptation in view: he said, he had not represented the state of the whole affair to His Holiness with a worse aspect than in truth belonged to it; it might possibly hereafter appear with a better than it yet appeared to have, and he would not deny that he had some such presage within himself; for when he
consi-

considered that at his late being at Venice he had not any character or authority to oppose to the insolent demands and behaviour of the Senate; but his person being well known there, and the French Ambassador's declaring, that the King had sent him to Rome to dispose the Pope to an accommodation, but especially the hope the Senate had to receive assistance from his most Christian Majesty, had wrought so far upon them, that he must confess that they had shewed him as much respect, and used more freedom towards him, than they could have done if he had been under any qualification; for he did not only confer with those who were deputed to treat with the Ambassador, who they knew was to be wholly governed by him, the Cardinal, but he had liberty to speak with the Duke himself, or with any other Senator, when he had a mind to it: however, the method he had used, during his stay there, was only to draw from them the utmost they would consent to, upon his representation of the danger they lay under of a temporal war, (in which all Catholic Princes would look upon them as withdrawn from the Church,) as well as of the ecclesiastical censures; but that he had never taken upon him so much as to imagine what would be insisted upon by His Holiness; and the discourse he had held concerning the Jesuits had been an excursion of his own, as a point absolutely necessary to facilitate a treaty; and it was true, their demeanor then was such as he had represented it to be, and he feared was grounded upon as firm a resolution as could at that time be made.

This discourse wrought great attentiveness in the Pope, and appeared to have raised his spirits; so that as soon as the Cardinal made a little pause, yet

A secret
authority
given by
the Pope to
the Cardi-

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with

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nal de Joy-
euse, to
make peace
with, and
absolve, the
Venetians.

with a purpose to have proceeded, the Pope told him, that he would gladly hear him all that he had to say ; but he would be the more beholden to him, if he would, as soon as he could, mention the expedient that might disentangle him from the labyrinth in which he was involved. The Cardinal replied, that he had wasted as little of his time as was possible, before he came to the expedient itself ; which was, that some person might be qualified at the same time to absolve the Republic, and take off the interdict, if they made themselves worthy of it, or immediately to shut the door upon them, and return without leaving farther hope of renewing any treaty ; and then he believed, when they found themselves reduced to that strait, and that they had it in their power to be quiet, they would not then be so desperate as to sustain the war, rather than retract the banishment of the Jesuits. The Pope acknowledged, that such an expedient might produce that effect if it were practicable, but he could not discern what he could contribute towards it ; since, whilst things continued in the present state, nobody qualified by him could repair to a people excommunicated and interdicted, nor could any man entrusted on their behalf have admission to his presence. The Cardinal said, that he had not been without a foresight of that difficulty ; yet thought the expedient that was then in his mind to be practicable without any of these objections, but that he could not say that he was as much now of the same opinion : and, making a little pause, whilst the Pope seemed to expect, he proceeded, and said, that, whilst he believed himself to be in the confidence of His Holiness, he could not object against reposing so much trust in him, as, when he returned

returned to France, (which he would now hasten, as being in despair of being instrumental towards any reconciliation,) he might again make Venice his way; and then if he were with all possible secrecy entrusted by His Holiness with a brief for a short number of days, as his Legate, to take off the interdict, and pronounce the absolution upon such concessions as he thought fit, there should be no notice taken of it; nor would he own such a power, till in such an article of time that he foresaw it would prove effectual; otherwise that the short time would expire of itself, and there would be no memory preserved that there had ever been any such power granted: and he added, that he might probably within such a time receive such directions from the King his master, that might have a better effect than he could hope for from his rhetoric. The mention of his master made more impression upon the Pope than all the other discourse. He never doubted but that he could bring the Venetians to any terms he thought fit; but he was not sure that the conveniences he proposed to himself might not be greater from the war, than from a peace. However, he much more relied upon the sincerity of France than of Spain; which he plainly discerned thought of nothing so much, now they were at peace with the other crown, as of a pretence for drawing troops into Italy; which he knew as well could not be done, without France's taking occasion likewise from thence to make an expedition thither with a greater army; for which neither of them could ever meet with so good an opportunity as this quarrel between him and the Republic would administer to them, if it were not suddenly composed. So that, without bringing the matter to a

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public debate, (in which he knew private passions would sway much, and that many of the Cardinals who abhorred the war would yet, upon pretence of honour, be very violent for the carrying it on, only upon an imagination that the vexation of it, which they saw already had made great impression upon him, would shorten his days,) he sent again for the Cardinal Joyeuse, and took leave of him, as upon his going to France, and gave him such a brief as he had proposed; and shortly after the Cardinal's coming to Venice, and without obtaining any thing more from the Senate than they had granted before his going to Rome, the peace was concluded, and the absolution pronounced, by a trick of the Cardinal's, without being desired or taken notice of; the Doctors of the canon law having resolved and declared an absolution to be valid when pronounced without the consent of the party; the Pope for some days professing wonderful dissatisfaction, and declaring that he had been betrayed by the Cardinal.

Reflections
upon the
preceding
transac-
tions.

I have collected this short relation as faithfully as I could, and without any partiality, out of the large account that is given in the letters of Monsieur de Fresne upon this subject, and in many other voluminous narrations which are made both in Italian and French, in print and in manuscript, and do conceive it to be as near the truth as can be made of a matter that passed so privately, as to the most material parts of it, between the Pope himself and the Cardinal de Joyeuse, whose own relations and commentaries of it are not so clear as in other transactions they use to be; and as if he were content rather to expose himself to some reproach, than to lay open the Pope's weakness and want of resolution, which

which yet (it may be) was wisdom in the conclusion, CHAP.
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that was pride and rashness in the beginning: for it cannot be that this wise and expert Cardinal could so grossly have imposed upon the Pope's understanding, which was sharp sighted enough, to the procuring such absurd commissions from him; or that he could more grossly and so foully have broken a trust reposed in him, by consenting in his name to what was so expressly contrary to his will and pleasure, and in a case of religion that had so near a relation to the honour and dignity of the Sacred Chair; which if he had done, all the world must have heard of his infamous perjury and perfidiousness; and the King of France could not have refused to have delivered him up to be chastised by him whom he had so grievously offended and provoked: whereas there is not any record in any one relation of that whole transaction so much to his disadvantage, or so liable to imputation, as in that which he makes himself; but he continued in as high trust and favour with that King to his death. Nor after two or three days choleric expressions, when the news of the peace came thither without the conditions which they expected, was the Pope ever heard to speak with any reflection upon the Cardinal; but himself appeared abundantly pleased to be at rest and quiet, and reigned the remainder of his time (which was near, if not full, ten years after) with much more wariness and discretion than he had done before; and always assured the Jesuits, that though their restoration could not be made a condition of the peace, it would inevitably be a consequence of it; and was willing to have it believed, that the King of France had provided for it by some secret stipulation with the Senate. Upon
M m 3 the

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the whole matter, we may reasonably conclude, that whatever Cardinal de Joyeuse did was by the Pope's privity direction and approbation ; who chose rather to trust him, that was to be absent from Rome, than any Italian Cardinal, who must know too much of his nature defects and oversights, and might presume to make other use of either than the other was like to do. And here I cannot but observe a wonderful sagacity in that Court, never to be convinced by their own records in any point that may be a contradiction or prejudice to any of their pretences ; for, in a matter so notoriously acted upon the stage of the world, and preserved by so many good authors from the authentic acts of state of that time, the record they have registered of that absolution makes a formal recital of all the application and submission and humility from the Republic that can be imagined ; and that thereby, and by the earnest mediation of the two Kings of France and Spain, and the instance of other Catholic Princes, His Holiness had been prevailed with to accept and receive them again into the communion of the Catholic Church, and to authorize the Cardinal de Joyeuse as his Legate to proceed, &c.

How far artifices of this nature may prevail with succeeding ages, cannot well be foreseen ; but with the present it can find no credit, whilst the true and particular transactions in all that affair are remembered with so much punctuality in all languages, and the last entry of the conclusion of the whole is so much of another nature in the archives of Venice. Nor would that wise people (even after the reconciliation) permit any thing to be done that might imply the least condescension of their part. And therefore,

fore, upon some advertisement that there were several books in the press at Rome ready to be published, containing a relation of all the proceedings which had been, and answers in justification of all that had been done by the Pope, the Senate sent to the Pope, that they had submitted upon the desire of Cardinal de Joyeuse, that all that had been writ on either side should be suppressed, and suffered no more to be sold; but if any thing should be published at Rome, or in any other place, to their disadvantage, they would take themselves to be absolved from the observation of that article, and would cause full answers to be made to whatsoever should come out of the same nature, and what had been published to be reprinted: whereupon there was strict order given at Rome for the suppressing of what was then in the press, and for the inhibiting any of the rest to be sold; and it was observed, that there was more diligence then used in Rome for the suppressing all that had been written on the Pope's behalf, than for the justification of the Senate: so much it was believed that the one had the advantage over the other in the reason and the style; and whosoever now reads both, cannot but acknowledge that there can be no comparison between them.

The wounds which the Papal Chair received in that conflict may be closed and bound up, but the scars thereof can never be wiped out. To have all his claims of a Supreme ecclesiastical dominion by arguments and places of Scripture refuted and retorted upon him; to have his Excommunication examined, and contradicted as invalid by the rules of law; and his Interdict resisted, and condemned as without ground; and all this by a Sovereign body of Catholics, is, and will

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CHAP. continue to posterity, an undeniable evidence, that
VIII. — those excesses and powers were not held of the essence
of Catholic religion; and when such fulminations
may pass without being felt, and are recalled without
leaving smart or sign behind them, and without the
least acknowledgment that they were so much as
taken notice of, men cannot but believe that they
have no terror in and from themselves, but from the
stupidity of the persons who are affected by them;
and whilst the memory of Paul the Fifth is preserv-
ed in the ecclesiastical annals, the distinction of spi-
ritual and temporal persons in the administration of
the sovereign justice of kingdoms will be neglected
as ridiculous, and the Pope's excommunication of so-
vereign Princes will be held fit to be derided. Be-
yond this we shall not extend the consideration of
any other of the particular actions of Paul the Fifth,
during the whole fifteen years of the Pontificate.

 CHAP. IX.

From Gregory XV. A. D. 1621. to Clement X.

A. D. 1670.—Change in the policy of the Court of Rome—Denial of the Pope's Supremacy by France, Spain, and Venice—Controversy between the Jesuits and Jansenists—Humiliation of the Pope by Lewis XIV.

UPON the death of Paul the Fifth, and after a long and factious conclave, the Cardinal Lodovico was elected Pope, and took the name of Gregory the Fifteenth: his short reign of two years has left us little matter of observation, except the stupendous value and revenue of that high administration, when in so short a time it enabled him to leave so vast a wealth to his heir, that his family remains still possessed of as great an estate as any that hath descended from any Pope.

And here it will not be unseasonable to observe, that the wariness of the Popes, from the time that the Christian Princes in Europe grew to have greater power and reputation, and consequently the Papacy to have less, within their dominions, hath left less information to posterity of their transactions, than their predecessors used to have done. For from the time

Gregory XV. Lodovico.

Change in the policy of the court of Rome.

CHAP. time, that France recovered its inward convulsions to
 IX. which the League had brought it, and Harry the Fourth had restored it to its full vigour, to the same at least that Spain had enjoyed during the two long lives of Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second, being time enough, with such prosperous conjunctures, to raise it to an affectation of the universal monarchy; and that England was now become more formidable, by the union of Scotland, and reducing all the rebellious of Ireland under the obedience to one King; the Bishop of Rome likewise declined those rude enterprises upon their sovereignties which they had been accustomed to, and prescribed softer arts of policy to themselves to govern by, and which were much more natural to them to practise, and with more probable success.

Republica-
 tion of the
 Bullarium.

They did all they could to wipe out or efface the memory of all those their extravagant excursions in the late League, by leaving out, in their next impression of the Bullarium, all those Bulls which they had sent abroad in the time of Gregory the Thirteenth, Sixtus the Fifth, and Clement the Eighth, to the eternal reproach of the crown of France: that the presumption and malignity of them might be forgotten, and not be exposed to the continual view of posterity. Nor had they a less care in the suppressing all the like ebullitions upon the occasion of the late dispute with the Republic of Venice. So that the late editions of the Bullarium have communicated little to us, whereby we may make conjectures of the spirit of the time, or the humour of the Popes, since the time of Gregory the Thirteenth to this present; but have only informed us of their several Bulls for canonization of pious men to be saints,

saints, and the weighty inducements and reasons for the conferring those preferments, and of others for the foundation of religious houses, and some for the reformation and regulation of them, if it be possible ; as if the Sacred Chair had now abandoned all secular pretences, and was well contented to receive those assignations, and enjoy those prerogatives, which sovereign Princes assign to them in their dominions, and was only intent upon the exercise of their own power in their own territories, and extending their spiritual jurisdiction, as far as it would reach, in Italy.

The Court of Rome hath exceedingly reformed itself in its civil behaviour and good manners, and hath left the clamour and evil speaking to those who wear no shirts, and countenances no foul words towards those who, it is sure, will be damned ; and it is so excessively civil to heretics, that there is less danger in being thought a Lutheran, or a Calvinist, in Rome, than in most other good company ; and the Inquisition itself is grown so fine a gentleman, that they are as safe there as at Amsterdam. Nor is it many years since, that the host to a Dutchman in Rome was in great danger to be condemned to the gallies, for calling him (upon some difference in account) a heretic, that he was preserved only by the good nature and earnest sollicitation of his provoked guest. And it is not to be doubted, that they find themselves greater gainers by this courtship, than they did by their worse breeding ; and that they win more proselytes by their affability and good breeding, than by their divinity or miracles ; upon which they make themselves as merry with you as upon the Pope himself, until, by a communication of guilt, they persuade you that there is no salvation for
that

CHAP. IX. that state, but in their Church. Probity is no where so much contemned, nor impiety so much derided; their application being to the constitution of the patient, not to free him from the disease, but that he may live well with it. To quit and abandon a sin is too vulgar and uneasy a remedy; to have the pleasure and delight of practising it, and yet to be saved, is the only expedient that is bought and sold here.

The Bull
 “*De Electione Summi Pontificis.*”

Gregory the Fifteenth, who best knew the straits and difficulties through which he had mounted into that Chair, did intend, no doubt, to make the ascent thither more easy, and more innocent to his successor, by his Bull “*De Electione Summi Pontificis* :” where, according to the natural dialect of those instruments, (which, by the way, if faithfully collected by a discreet gatherer out of all the Bulls, from first to last, would amount to as pleasant, if not as profitable, a bulk of commentaries and glosses upon the Scriptures, as the Schoolmen themselves would yield,) after he had observed upon the wisdom and caution of our Saviour, and which he had never used in any other action, who, before he would commit “*Ovium suarum curam*” to St. Peter, asked him the same question three times, and would not receive less than a thrice repeated answer and profession of his faithful affection to him, (by which he had learned what great diligence and care should be used in the election of all Pastors, and especially in the choice of a successor to St. Peter himself, “*qui Orbis est Lumen, Doctor Gentium, et Pastor Pastorum,*”) he ordains therefore that every Cardinal, at every scrutiny, *antequam schedula in calicem mittatur*, shall make this oath, *altâ et intelligibili voce*; “*Testor Christum Dominum, qui me judicaturus est, me eligere*

“gere quem secundum Deum judico eligi debere, et CHAP.
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“quod idem in accessu præstabo :” then he prescribes
to all the Cardinals such a form for their own behaviour, “ut omnino abstineant ab omnibus pactionibus,
“conventionibus, promissionibus, intendimentis, fœde-
“ribus, aliisque quibuscunque obligationibus &c. tam
“respectu inclusionis quàm exclusionis, tam unius
“personæ quam plurium &c. ;” and “ex tunc” excommunicates all who are guilty in any of those cases. It is true, he adds a very comfortable clause in the same paragraph ; “Tractatus tamen pro electione habendos, vetare, non intelligimus :” this it is doubted may, according to the latitude of many consciences, have dispensed with much of the precedent severity ; which yet he supplies again by the next article ; namely, that he shall be chosen by the suffrages of two parts of three of the whole number of the Cardinals who shall be present, “quasi per inspirationem, nullo præcedente de personâ speciali tractatu &c. per verbum
“ELIGO intelligibili voce prolatum &c. :” and if this be not observed, any election otherwise made, “electo
“nullum jus tribuit, quin imò—is non Apostolicus, sed
“Apostaticus sit &c.” And there can be no doubt, but as the Pope himself, who had passed the pikes, did intend that for the future there should be fairer play for the same prize, so it was a much stricter provision than had been made before ; and the publication of it, according to all the vulgar interpretation of the words, persuaded all men to believe, that there was an end of all long conclaves, and that for the future the Holy Ghost would quickly have its operation upon all persons, who were so well prepared to be inspired. But the next conclave proved better grammarians, and made it appear that the
Bull,

CHAP. IX. Bull, or the Oath, had done no harm, and that Sovereign Princes still retained their prerogative of exclusion, and that the particular Cardinals could not be divested of those natural affections and inclinations, with which God and nature had invested them.

The Bull
" *Contrà*
" *Hæreti-*
" *cos &c.*"

This Pope, how little time soever he reigned, published some other notable Bulls, which found no better reception and obedience than that of the election did; and so much worse, as he lived not to see the violation of that, and might have the delight of imagining and believing that it might produce the wished effects after his death; but he lived to see the others neglected and contemned, upon the matter, in his own diocese; and when he had been so modest (contrary to the custom of his predecessors, and in a matter of as spiritual a nature as heresy itself) as to contract his jurisdiction within the limits of his Patriarchat. For such was his Bull "*Contrà Hæreticos in locis Italiæ, et Insularum adjacentium quovis prætextu commorantes, eorumque fautores.*" He there ordained, that no heretic, though under the notion of a merchant, or any other traffic whatsoever, or under what pretence soever, should presume to take a house, or to live in any place of Italy, or the islands adjacent; but that they should be proceeded against in the forms prescribed. And when he found that he could not provide for the purity of that province, without the exposing the authority of his predecessors, and some orders of the established government, to reproach and contempt; and that there is no sure way to preserve the Catholic religion to be unhurt there, as by providing that it should not be known to them what heresy is; having

having observed (as he says) that the liberty to read prohibited books, “*magno esse sinceræ fidei cultoribus detrimento &c.*” and being informed that such licence did exceedingly increase, he did, by another Bull, revoke all liberty that had been given, to what persons soever, of reading, or having any prohibited books, and all licences which had been granted to that purpose, “*ab omnibus etiam Romanis Pontificibus concessarum;*” which was a sign that he thought that Cardinal Bellarmine (who was then newly dead) had done them more harm than good, by his two great volumes of controversies. He lived also long enough to see, that not one English or Dutch factor was put out of any city or town in Italy, but enjoyed the same, or more liberty and privilege, than they had done before, in the places where they inhabited; and which places well understood what profit they got by their company, finding it necessary to publish such concessions and edicts, as might give them security against any future apprehensions of that kind; which could not be, without declaring that the Pope had nothing to do in those affairs. The Republic of Venice took from thence occasion to renew and publish such orders, as (together with the wise discourse set out with their privilege by Padre Paolo, the constant friend to the Pope’s authority) gave as deep wounds to those pretences as any that Paul the Fifth had drawn upon himself. And for the revoking the liberty to read prohibited books, he saw likewise, (which hath been since more confirmed by experience,) that the only benefit that it received from the congregation for the prohibition of books, is in making the prices of those books dearer, by the curiosity of men to read them, and

CHAP. IX. and thereupon to deride the authority that would suppress them ; it being very notorious, that religion doth not nor ever did suffer so much by those men who diligently read and examine what is written in books, as by those, who (without reading them) persuade others to believe that they contain somewhat that is not there, and so beget prejudice to the author, and (for his sake) to whatsoever he declares to be his opinion : as it is no unusual stile in that congregation to condemn all the books which are written by such a man, and all those which he shall hereafter write ; which must be the product of another foresight.

The Bull
confirming
the Bull of
Pius IV.
" *Contrà*
" *Sacerdo-*
" *tes in*
" *Confes-*
" *sionibus*
" *&c. sol-*
" *licitan-*
" *tes.*"

We shall mention only one Bull more of that Pope, (who left us nothing else to mention of him,) which he calls "*Confirmatio et Ampliatio Constitutionis Pii Quarti editæ contrà Sacerdotes in Confessionibus Sacramentalibus pœnitentes ad turpia sollicitantes.*" It was observed before, in the time of Pius, that the publishing that Bull had brought great reproach and scandal upon the Catholic religion, by infusing into the minds of men, that there was so much wickedness amongst those who were looked upon as the Fathers of the Church, that, in the celebration of the most solemn sacrament of confession, they should solicit those penitents, who were at their feet, to disburden their consciences of their most grievous and most heinous sins, and to submit to such chastisement and penance as they should inflict upon their transgressions ; and that these supreme spiritual guides, directors, and judges, should make that diabolical use of the secrets they were intrusted with, as to solicit women, in the very act of their penitence, to renew the same sins with them,
upon

upon the advantage of their confession. And al-
 though it is true, that this had been objected by CHAP.
IX.
 some who had left their Church, as well as by others
 who had never been of it, and had therefore been
 looked upon, for the magnitude and incredibility of
 the wickedness, as the effect of the most transcendent
 and heretical malice; yet their veracity could be no
 longer doubted, when Pope Pius himself had given
 that testimony of it by his own Bull for the better
 discovery and punishment of it. And now that an-
 other Pope, near one hundred years after, upon evi-
 dence that the former Bull had not produced its hoped
 for effects, should renew and amplify it with several
 clauses for the better discovery and punishment of
 it, hath, no doubt, given many warrantable occasions
 to many good men to fear, that, as we see no con-
 spiracies or treasons discovered or prevented by it,
 so adultery fornication and other uncleanness may
 be propagated by this screen of confession, and
 therefore to wish that the compulsory custom of it
 were abolished; with what devotion soever it was
 first instituted, and with what piety soever it may be
 practised.

And so we finish our survey of the short reign of
 this Pope, with the character that a very eloquent Character
of Gregory
XV.
 Italian historiographer of that time, Procurator Nani,
 gives him; that, after he had for the space of about
 two years, or very little more, “*Sostenuto forse, piu*
 “*ch’ esercitato il nome, e l’ autorità dell’ Apostolato,*”
 he left the fame of having had much zeal for reli-
 gion; on the other side, with reference to affairs, he
 was esteemed “*di genio rimesso e totalmente soggetto*
 “*all’ arbitrio de’ Nepoti,*” who governed all things
 “*con tanta prepotenza,*” that in the short reign of
 their

CHAP. their uncle they heaped up an incredible mass of
IX. wealth, and attained great honour and interest.

Urban
VIII.

Gregory the Fifteenth was succeeded by Urban the Eighth, who had not found less trouble and obstruction, nor received any benefit by the care and providence of his predecessor's Bull: and when he was elected, the same excellent writer of that time says, that nobody wondered more at it than they who had elected him; "*che si stuparono d'havere ingannate le proprie Speranze*;" by having chosen a man who by his complexion and vigour might very well outlive the major part of those who had chosen him; as indeed he did, for he was not above five and fifty years of age at that time, and he reigned above twenty-one years. This long period of time affords us abundant matter for observation. And if we consulted no farther than the public transactions under him, which are communicated to us in the records of Rome, we should think that he had lived in the golden age of piety and virtue, by the multitude of saints canonized by him; most (if not all) of which had lived in his own time. But when we look into the more ingenuous and impartial account of that age, (and of which there is light enough that may be drawn out of Rome itself,) it will appear that he governed but in "*face Romuli*."

His conduct and character.

He had found such a general consent in the conclave to take no kind of notice of Gregory's Bull for the election, that he resolved (according to the practice he had learned from some of his predecessors) to begin his reign against the express injunction and determination of Sixtus the Fifth, and renewed and confirmed by another who succeeded, in not only making his two nephews Cardinals, (which was expressly

pressly inhibited to be done, and declared invalid and void if done,) but by adding his brother to the number; the sole Capuchin, I think, that hath ever been a Cardinal: so that there were together three, his brother and two nephews, who had votes in the Consistory; without considering how mortal a wound it must needs be to the pretended power of the Papacy, in the judgment of all uncorrupted persons, to declare or acknowledge that any decree whatsoever, let it relate to religion or church government, is reversible by another Pope as invalid, or to be made so by his single judgment. Urban was generally esteemed a scholar, and to take much delight in books, and in the softer study of poetry, (which of itself disposed him to ease,) as we may see by a volume of Latin poems which he hath left. And it was generally believed, that his nature inclined him to quiet, and that he resolved (though his long employment in France as Nuncio made him suspected to be of that party) to be neutral in all contests between the two Crowns. But he found himself, in the very entrance into the Pontificate, embarrassed by the weakness of his predecessor, and the strength of the Spaniard, to whom he had been most inclined, which had made the Holy Chair the depositary of some towns or forts upon the quarrel of the Valteline; in which France and the Republic had equally engaged themselves on one side, as Spain on the other; by reason whereof, the new Pope could not disentangle himself without offending one of them, whilst they both used all possible endeavours to draw him to their party, by making offer of the greatest marriages that were in either of their dominions to be made and solemnized with his nephews.

CHAP.
IX.

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IX.

Wars be-
tween
France and
Spain re-
specting
the Valte-
line.

Though the Pope discerned that at last he should inevitably be compelled to declare himself for one, yet he resolved to defer it as long as he could, before any body should reasonably guess which side he would take. Nor did he despair that he might for some time be able to keep and observe a neutrality ; for there was yet no immediate declared war between them, though their allies were engaged warmly, and either Crown sent their forces to assist their armies. Besides what concerned the business of the Grisons and the Valteline, in which France and the Republic were united, the war was likewise broke out between Savoy and the Duke of Mantua, and both Crowns were raising armies for the support of either ; but, till they should be embarked upon a direct denunciation of war, the Pope still thought that an interposition to prevent it would best become him, until he could by their consent discharge himself of the depositary, by withdrawing his garrisons from the towns and places they were possessed of. France desired he should do this according to the trust, by first dismantling the fortifications ; but the Spaniard would not permit it, insisting that they should either be delivered to them in the state they were, or so left, that they might possess them as soon as they were left. It is not doubted that the Pope loved France better, and as little that he feared Spain more ; who could, from his kingdom of Naples and Duchy of Milan, do him more mischief in a month, than France could repair in a year, if it affected to do it. He sent first his nephew, Cardinal Francisco, his Legate into France, who was received with all the demonstrations of respect and magnificent presents that can be imagined, but prevailed not in
any

any one proposition that he made ; which offended the Pope so much, that he no sooner returned to Rome, but he was presently sent in the same condition into Spain ; where he was equally caressed, and was from that time always believed to be of the Spanish party ; though without the least manifestation of his uncle's inclinations that way, he at the same time advising the Republic, (with whom he was in strict alliance,) that they would invite and procure France to send an army into Italy, as the only way to stop or give some check to the exorbitant power of the Spaniard. It is true, that the intestine divisions and troubles in France during the minority of the King, and the rebellions after he came to age, with the domestic differences and public breaches between him and the Queen his mother, had found that King business enough at home ; so that he could not obstruct nor countermine the progress that the other Crown had made in Italy, which was grown formidable : and at this present, besides the several forces under pretence of assisting the Emperor about the Valteline, the Duke of Feria, Governor of Milan, had an army consisting of forty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, under his command, ready to march upon the first orders of his Catholic Majesty ; and therefore it is no wonder if the Pope, how well soever he wished to France, did heartily endeavour to preserve the friendship of Spain with all professions. And if he had not afterwards committed greater errors in respect of his own politic demeanor towards the Princes of Italy, relating to his own interests, than he did in his behaviour and carriage towards the two Crowns, he would have left the character behind him of a very prudent

CHAP. IX. and dexterous Pope ; and would have enjoyed a life of much more ease and quiet, (which he did, next wealth, heartily affect,) and have died with much more fame and glory.

France and Spain governed by Richelieu and Olivarez.

The two Crowns were at this time entirely under the government of the two great Favourites ; France under Cardinal Richelieu, and Spain under the Duke of Olivarez ; whilst the two Kings themselves had no mind to do each other hurt, and as little to hinder any man who had a mind to do it.

Character of Cardinal Richelieu.

The first was looked upon, at a distance, as the greater Favourite, because he did the greater things, and only for that ; for he sailed always against a strong and violent wind, and did more towards making himself great than the King ; and was more the favourite of fortune than of the King ; and no man was ever more "*faber fortunæ suæ*;" and with a marvellous dexterity and address he applied all his faculties at the same time to the most contrary designs. He was always of some faction, and increased it, or got out of it, or composed it, as suited best with what he desired ; and rarely miscarried in what he proposed to himself. It seemed miraculous to all men, that, without ever being beloved by the King, he could make an implacable quarrel between him and his mother ; perpetual dissensions between his Majesty and the Queen his wife ; continual jealousies between him and his brother ; and totally irreconcile him to all the Princes of the blood, and those to him : and yet, when he was in the highest degree of favour with the King his master, and the most in his confidence, the King loved very many men better, even some of the Cardinal's enemies, and would have been glad to have heard he had been dead any hour in

in the day. He was, without doubt, the immediate instrument to introduce more calamities upon France, and all the neighbour kingdoms; to raise and prosecute greater and longer wars; to shed more blood, and ruin more families, than any man in that or the former age had been: and, after all this, his enemies cannot deny him to have been qualified with those rare endowments, which have in all times preserved the memory of the most illustrious persons; nor can it be denied, but that the greatness and prosperity which France hath enjoyed since his time (a greater no nation under heaven hath enjoyed longer together in these last thousand years) was the product of his ministry; and which his successor, who through many hazards and difficulties cultivated his work, could never have established if he had been before him.

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The other Favourite, the Condé Duke of Olivarez, was in many respects more potent at home, and in all the dominions subject to that monarchy, than the Cardinal could be esteemed to be in France; for he had no rival in his master's favour, who was as young as the other King, and as indisposed to business; but by so much the more constant in his affections, as he was more devoted to his pleasures: and though there could not but be in that haughty nation men enough who would have been glad to have been in the same post that he possessed, yet there was never any formed faction in the kingdom against him, nor scarce any particular man of note and value who had the courage to enter into a contestation with him. So that, in the long time of his ministry, which continued more years than that of the Cardinal, he found little uneasiness at home;

Character
of the Con-
dé Duke of
Olivarez.

CHAP. IX. — whereas the Cardinal was still threatened by conspiracies, and frequently escaped by outfacing those enterprises which he knew were formed against his life; and sometimes when he was not sure that the King himself was not privy to them. Olivarez was a man of excellent parts and of good learning, having been designed, during the life of his elder brother, to the Church, and afterwards for the Court; and many years he lived in Rome, when his father was ambassador there, and a man of much trust and experience in the most secret affairs of that Crown, whilst the Duke of Lerma governed the affairs of Spain; and there he was well trained up in business by his father, and very fit for it, having, with very pregnant parts, industry equal to what he was to do; though by degrees he grew more lazy, and, it may be, for want of opposition and contradiction, (with which the other favourite was abundantly exercised,) less solicitous and vigilant for the public than he ought to have been; for great misfortunes befel the monarchy before his fall, which was a fall too as gentle as could be, though it could not have been borne by the other, nor (it may be) long sustained by him,

These two great favourites were equally ungracious in the Court of Rome, and equally indevoted to it; and it may be some evidence of the integrity of the Pope's behaviour towards both Crowns, that he was treated with equal rudeness by both; and, by the influence of both Favourites, received more affronts and contempts even in those particulars which, according to the Catholic sense, were merely spiritual, than the Sacred Chair had ever been accustomed to from its dearest children,

It

It was not then doubted (as hath been said) but that Urban was in himself most inclined to France ; yet he seemed, as to their public interest and private contestations, indifferent or neutral. It is true he first sent his nephew Legate into France, which in some respect seemed the less compliment, in that the legation being to procure a peace between the two Crowns, which he had endeavoured by his Nuncios in both Courts, it implied that France was the more unreasonable, and insisted upon terms which he must desist from before Spain was to be treated with. The disrespect that his nephew was treated with (I mean, as to consenting to any thing he desired) was notorious ; nor was the Pope reserved in owning the dissatisfaction he received in it ; and, as soon as he returned to Rome, the same Legate was sent to Spain with more lustre, and was entertained with better words, and returned with better presents by an abbey or two ; as the situation of the kingdom of Naples is more convenient to the Court of Rome than that of France. When the Pope saw the unkindness and jealousies between the Crowns increase, and that it would quickly break out into a war, (which yet it was not,) and then how difficult it would be for him to carry himself with that real indifferency as was requisite, and how impossible that it would be thought so, he divided himself between them ; that is, he permitted one Cardinal nephew to be taken notice of to adhere to the interest of Spain, and the other to the interest of France ; which was manifest in both their behaviours, yet with this difference, that the elder, Francisco, being a man of more phlegm, was more wary and reserved in what concerned Spain, as if he desired to be thought unbiassed ;

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The Pope's
neutrality
between
France and
Spain.

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biased ; whereas the younger, Cardinal Antonio, so much affected and wedded whatever France was concerned in, as if he were well contented to be esteemed an enemy to Spain. It is true, that warmth (sometimes to indecency) drew such checks and rephensions from his uncle, and even restraints and inhibitions, as he would not suffer him to receive the office of being Protector of France, to which that Crown desired to assign him ; which made the Pope's affection the more suspected, and the jealousy and animosity between the two brothers the more taken notice of.

Cardinal Richelieu threatens to call a National Council, and choose a Patriarch for France.

Let us see now how this prudent Pope (for a prudent man he was) was treated by his two rival sons, which should express most veneration to him, and what provocations they had from him. When the King of France sent the Cardinal of Valette to be General of his army in Italy, the Pope sent a very severe reprehension to him, and threatened that, if he did not immediately withdraw himself from that employment, he would deprive him of his cap ; and after he had refused to give obedience thereunto, and led the army into Germany, and there died, the Pope refused to celebrate mass for him, as he used always to do upon the death of all Cardinals, nor would permit the other Cardinals to perform those obsequies for him, which were of course in those cases. If he be a judge in any case, one would think he should be in this ; in which, besides the ancient canons which were still in force, there had been some modern decrees, which made it more penal. But that Cardinal Richelieu should be herein so far provoked as to threaten the Pope with calling a National Council, and choosing a Patriarch in France, is instance

instance enough that he had not that reverence for the authority of the Pope as many Cardinals pretend to have. CHAP.
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That the most Christian King should have great indignation for the affront that was offered to his ambassador in the Court of Rome, the Mareschal d'Estre, in the assassination of his Escuier, (by what accident or insolence brought upon himself,) cannot but be thought very just; (since Princes cannot be too jealous of the honour due to their own persons in any neglect of their representatives in the Courts of other Princes;) that admission and audience should be solemnly denied to a new and extraordinary Nuncio, because the Pope had denied, or rather delayed, to make Julio Mazarin a Cardinal upon that King's recommendation; that Chavigny (who had been the Cardinal's secretary, and was by him made Secretary of State, and still trusted by him as his own) should, in the *éclaircissement* he had with that extraordinary Nuncio, barefacedly own that exception, and reproach the Pope for using the King with so little respect in that affair of Monsieur Mazarin; that he should tell him of a Patriarch and a National Council to allay the Papal presumption; that there should be a strong guard set upon and about the Nuncio's lodging to observe all who went in and out, and restrain some from doing either; that there should be a positive prohibition published by the King, that no Prelate of the kingdom, or any of their Clergy, should repair to the Nuncio, or have any correspondence with him, or receive order or advice from him; that upon the death of the General of the Dominicans, and a difference in the chapter about a successor, (the French choosing the brother of Cardinal Mazarin,

Affronts put
upon the
Pope by
France.

CHAP. IX. Mazarin, and the Italians another, and the Pope, to whom it belonged, deciding it for the last,) the King ordered that France should acknowledge only the brother of the Cardinal to be their General, and persisted in it until another preferment was given to him in the Pope's palace, by which he came at last to be a Cardinal too, though not in the time of Urban; I say, all these particulars, to which many more may be added, are manifestation that the Gallican Church hath not that reverence for, or veneration of, the Sacred Chair, but that they think they can live without it.

Spain threatens to call a General Council and choose a Patriarch.

Our next view must be of the most Catholic kingdom, under the direction and conduct of the other great Favourite, and the condescension that Crown paid to the person of that Pope, and the submission they shewed to his dictates and determinations; how often and how loudly he was reproached for his partiality and over-inclination to France, and threatened with the calling a General Council, and an inhibition to all men to resort to the Nuncio, and to submit to any judicatory of his, or to carry any cause before him. It was in the year 1632 or 1633 that the two Spanish ambassadors in Rome, whereof one was a Bishop, presented a memorial to him, which was afterwards printed, and remains still in the hands of many; in which they told him, that since he forgot to be a common Father, and shewed so much partiality to their enemy's crown, and so little justice to that of their master, he was not to wonder if his Catholic Majesty withdrew much of that respect from him, which he had always shewed to the Sacred Chair: that Spain well knew the great emoluments which His Holiness and his Court enjoyed in that king-

kingdom by the piety and licence of the Crown; and likewise what former Kings of that nation had done, when the Court of Rome had presumed to do some things which it ought not to have done; and annexed a large collection of those precedents in former times, (which was likewise printed at Madrid,) implying that this King could and would do the like, if the Pope continued to exercise the same disaffection and injustice towards him and his subjects as he had done: it talked of choosing a Patriarch, and contained many such expressions of questioning and contradicting the exercise of that illimited jurisdiction which he usurped, that any man who peruses them will swear that they who framed those memorials, and directed the presentation, did not in truth believe that the Pope was the Vicar of Christ; nor that Christ had ever given or left to his Vicar power or authority to exercise any such power as he assumed to himself.

It had been to be wished that the Pope, in his age and great decay of his faculties, had not so much departed from trusting his own understanding, and relinquished the conduct and management of the whole Papal power to his nephews, that he was thought worthy of all the disrespect he had received from the two Crowns, and from the ministers of both; and the councils and actions which, towards the conclusion of his reign, he affected and countenanced, were such as were contrary and most destructive to his own designs, and drew most of the Princes of Italy into a direct league against him, and for the limiting and restraining that exorbitancy of power which he knew not how to use with such modesty or moderation as would permit his neighbours to be Princes too in their own

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IX.

Ill effects of
the Pope's
policy.

CHAP. own dominions ; and by this excess he left his fa-
IX. mily in a state approaching near to ruin.

His endea-
vours to ag-
grandise his
family.

From the first hour of his Pontificate, he confined all his thoughts to Italy, as if he could be well contented that no other part of the world should be thought within his diocese ; but then he desired to extend his authority in Italy as far as it would reach, and to leave his family (upon the raising of which his whole heart was set) into the degree of Sovereign Princes. That they might not entirely depend upon the favour and bounty of the Church after his decease, he thought first to contrive some device whereby his nephews might appear to be in a higher station than other Cardinals ; and his first invention of the title of “ Eminence ” was designed that it might be only given to, and assumed by, his two Cardinal nephews, and no other of the college : but he quickly found that would not be digested by the rest ; and therefore, knowing that it was in his own power sufficiently to distinguish them from others, he annexed the style of “ Eminence ” to be the sole appellation to and of every Cardinal ; and ordered, that without it they should not accept or receive any address, or use any other style to each other ; and hereby (which probably was in his second purpose, that, when he could not raise his nephews to be above other Cardinals, he might provide that none might be above them) he degraded all those who were called Prince Cardinals, and had been always treated with “ Al-
“ tezze.” They took this levelling them to a common title so ill, that, since they could not procure redress by their expostulation, (which was likewise seconded by the ambassadors of the Sovereign Princes as an indignity to themselves,) they have forborne to
reside

reside in Rome, and seldom come thither, but *sede vacante*, or in such conjuncture when they can best preserve their own quality. But this did rather whet than satisfy the Pope's appetite. He could, he saw, raise money enough, upon which he was thoroughly intent; but that mass would not invest his heir with the condition of a Sovereign Prince, which alone could preserve his other wealth to his family.

The last heir male of the Duchy of Urban was expired, and so that principality fell to the Church, to which he was a feodary; and of that he had a great desire to give his heir the investiture; against which there were so many positive decrees, that he found it would be in vain to attempt it against so many votes that would oppose its alienation from the Church. His next design was to purchase the Duchy of Castro of the Duke of Parma, who, it was presumed, might be induced, in regard of his great debts, to part with it for more than it could be worth, which would willingly have been paid; and this the nephews found means to be proposed to him, by friends who were not ingrateful to him. But the young Duke, being a person of a haughty nature, and no friend to the Barberinis, received the overture with so much indignation, that he forbore not, without any reservation or caution, to inveigh loudly against the pride and insolence of the Pope and his nephews, with such other expressions as are seldom separable from those passions, and they quickly found equal resentments from the whole family, which had not usually met with such magisterial contradictions. The Duke of Parma was indebted to the Monte or bank in Rome a great sum of money, contracted by himself, but more by his ancestors; the interest whereof

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Affair of
the Duchy
of Castro.

CHAP. whereof had raised it to a vast proportion, which had
IX. — been secured upon the revenue of the Duchy of Castro; and the Duke hearing many whispers, after his having refused to gratify the Pope in that affair, of a strict inquiry into that debt, and that it was reported to amount to more than the Duchy upon which it was secured was worth, upon those rumours carefully raised and dispersed, he thought fit to make a journey himself to Rome; which did his business no good, but accelerated, if it did not produce, the mischief that shortly followed: for the Duke looked for a better reception than he found; yet the Pope himself, not privy (as was generally believed) to the design of his nephew, treated him with much kindness, gratified him with making some abatement of the interest of the money, and renewed likewise a former grant to him of some impositions, in which consisted the greatest part of the revenue of the Duchy of Castro.

In the mean time, Cardinal Francisco (who wedded this business of Castro, and was of a jealous nature, and how irresolute soever in himself, such an opiniâtre, that he never asked advice, or if he did, he still preferred his own opinion before whatever he received from others) caused the Duke still to be pressed to sell Castro. The Duke, easy to be transported with choler, not only rejected the motion, but revenged himself upon Cardinal Francisco with all the bitterness of language that his passions could supply him; and though he found persons of all degrees and qualities in Rome who concurred with him in a perfect detestation of the whole family, (for the Pope and all his nephews had rendered themselves very odious,) he was not without some apprehension of an affront, and therefore chose to
leave

leave the city in the night, and returned to Parma without taking leave of the Pope, or of his nephews; presuming that the Pope, who was very infirm, would shortly die, and he knew he should then have no fear of his family. When His Holiness was informed of the Duke's departure in that manner, and of the revenge he threatened, he was so much affected that he wept; but his nephew Francisco, who had the greatest ascendant over him, and in truth governed absolutely both Church and State, quickly prevailed with him to abolish all other passions but the same that the Duke had carried with him, and to think of nothing but revenge; which he assured him he should easily inflict on him by the ordinary course of justice, and without putting himself to the trouble of any extraordinary proceedings.

The Pope being enough incensed and confirmed in his resolution, the Clerk of the Chamber was directed to issue out a monitory; whereby the Duke of Parma was required to appear in person, and to pay the debt that he owed to the Monte; and if he should not appear within thirty or forty days after notice, he was to stand excommunicated, and the revenue of the Duchy of Castro to be sequestered towards the payment of the debt: and, to make that the more difficult to be done, the Pope resumed the grant he had made to him of those impositions upon corn, and forbade the merchants to pay them; which abated the better part of that revenue. The Duke did not expect such a quick way of proceeding, and found himself perplexed what to resolve. To submit to the formal proceeding in justice, was to have it determined by his enemy; for he could not suppose that any of those judges durst displease the Cardinal. He

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Quarrel of
the Pope
with the
Duke of
Parma.

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resolved

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resolved therefore to pray for and expect the Pope's death, and in the mean time to neglect his spiritual sword, and to provide against his temporal, which he believed would quickly be drawn to defend the other; and therefore, instead of appearing in justice, he raised some troops and erected some forts and fortifications about Castro, that it might not be liable to a surprise. This administered new matter of offence, and gave new advantage against the Duke. The lawyers determined, that the erecting of any new fortifications by any feodary upon the lands of the Church, without the Pope's express consent, is no less than rebellion against his Sovereign Prince, and amounts to "*crimen læsæ Majestatis*;" so that, whereas the quarrel before was depending in justice, and only concerned the recovery of a debt, for the payment whereof Castro was liable, now the Duke was a rebel, and had forfeited all his other dominions. Nor would his enemies lose any time in taking their advantage, but renewed all the censures which were before inflicted, and added a new Bull of excommunication and forfeiture of all his dominions, of which he was declared to be deprived as a rebel, schismatic, and heretic; with all those expressions of reproach which in the opinion of that people makes a deprivation most lawful, and absolves all his subjects from their oaths of fidelity, and forbids them, under the same penalties, to yield any further obedience to him. And that all this thunder and lightning might not appear without some execution, Cardinal Antonio is made General of the Church, and collects and brings together those troops which were already standing, and, joining others to them so soon, that, before the fortifications of Castro could be finished, he

sur-

surprised that place, and drove the Duke's small gar- CHAP.
rison from thence, and fortified it better for the Pope. IX.

The neighbour Princes had hitherto looked on, War be-
hoping that the vexation of these commotions, when tween the
they should come to the Pope's knowledge, and into Pope and
which he had been betrayed by his nephews, (who the Duke
believed likewise the work would with more ease and of Parma,
less expence be finished than they found it like to
be,) would quickly contribute to the death of His
Holiness, and that would put an end to all. But
now, when they saw an army raised to execute all
the sentences the Pope would inflict, and that he
made no scruple in excommunicating a Sovereign
Prince as an heretic and schismatic, only that he
might deprive him whom they knew, and knew that
the Pope knew, to be a good Catholic, and that all
his fault was in defending himself and his dominions
against the power and oppression of the nephews;
and that, now Castro was taken, licence was de-
manded from the Duke of Modena, that Cardinal
Antonio might march through his territories to pro-
secute the war against the Duke of Parma in his
other dominions; they thought that their own in-
terest was at stake, and that there was a fire kindled
that might disperse itself into their quarters, and
even burn their own palaces; to prevent which, they
entered into a league to stop and resist this outrage
against the Duke of Parma. The Republic of Ve-
nice, that neither loved nor feared Urban; the Duke
of Tuscany, who hated him and all his family, (for
that, being all born his subjects, they had shewed less
respect towards him, and disoblged him more than
any other Pope had done of that age;) and the Duke
of Modena, (who had been too much hurt not to have

CHAP. some fear of him;) entered into a firm league together:
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first, to endeavour by mediation; and, if that could not put an end to the difference, then to give the Duke of Parma assistance with arms. Nor were they without some assurance that France would put itself into the head of that League. Cardinal Richelieu was yet alive, and not the more reconciled to the Pope for having at last, and after many indecent pauses, made his friend Mazarin, Cardinal; and he was well pleased to hear that Cardinal Antonio was General of an army; which, though for the Church, (except it had been against infidels,) was as much against the canons as the presumption of the Cardinal of Valet had been, to whom the offices of the Church had been denied after his decease. Monsieur de Lionne, an active and a dexterous minister, brought up under the care and direction, and cultivated by the instructions of that Cardinal, was sent by the King of France to counsel and assist those Princes of the League, and to interpose with and to advise the Barberinis to disentangle themselves from that enterprise; and he made what haste he could, in January sixteen hundred forty-two, to consult with those Princes of the League who were in his way to Parma, and then thither; where it was difficult enough, in respect of the provocations that Prince had sustained, and his martial inclinations and resolutions of revenge, together with a great contempt of his enemy, to adjust those propositions which were to be offered and insisted upon at Rome.

Negocia-
tions under
the media-
tion of
France.

The Duke of Parma was not all this while inactive on his own behalf; but, having raised a good body of horse and foot under good officers, desired nothing so much as to be found with his enemy, over whom
he

he doubted not the victory ; and therefore deferred till then the attempt to recover Castro. But the Barberinis knew too well the consequence of losing the army they had, the raising and maintaining whereof cost them much of that money which they intended to disburse to better purposes, and the recruiting it would cost them much more ; and therefore they resolved to avoid a battle ; and, as the Duke advanced, the Cardinal retired, and retired with so much disorder, that the other got some advantages over him in light skirmishes, and pursued him into the lands of the Church ; which, together with the Cardinal's hasty retreat, raised a great consternation in Rome itself ; so that, when Monsieur de Lionne came thither, the Barberinis (for the Pope himself treated of nothing, nor meddled in any business, but signed what the Cardinal Francisco caused to be prepared for him) seemed very willing to enter into treaty for a reconciliation, and to desire nothing else but such a humiliation from the Duke as was necessary for the Pope's honour ; whilst the Duke pressed the redelivery of Castro in the first place, and to treat afterwards. After the Cardinal had endeavoured by all the offers and all the promises to prevail with Monsieur de Lionne, that the King of France would desist from prosecuting his mediation or giving any assistance to the Duke, and found that no good could be got that way, he seemed to be willing that Castro should be deposited in the hands of one of the Princes of the League, and to be restored to the Duke within such a time, and upon such conditions as should be agreed by the treaty. Cardinal Spada was appointed to treat on the behalf of the Pope, and went to Orvietto to meet with the deputies of the

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and the sense that France declared to have of the in-
 dignity that it sustained thereby, but especially the
 visible decay in the Pope, (hastened, as was supposed,
 by the dark information he got of those transactions,
 which with great care were concealed from him,)
 made them afterwards willing to renew that treaty,
 and to consent to more dishonourable conditions, if
 the Pope's death and the proud humour of his suc-
 cessor had not prevented the entire execution of it;
 the defect wherein hath since given the succeeding
 Popes some trouble, and will give them more, when
 they have either need of France, or any other occa-
 sion shall invite them into Italy.

The blackest action, and surely the least aposto-
 lical, that unhappy Pope was guilty of, was, that
 when the victorious King of Sweden (of whom the
 world had scarce ever heard before) had covered
 all Germany with blood and slaughter, and by fire
 and sword wrought a greater devastation, almost to
 desolation, than hath ever been produced amongst
 Christians by a war between them; this successor of
 St. Peter, whose office and peculiar obligation they
 pretend is to root out all heretics, and by right or
 wrong to remove all obstructions which hinder the
 growth or improvement of Catholic religion, refused
 to give the Emperor and Catholic party any assist-
 ance in money, of which he was known to have
 abundance, and the other to want nothing else.
 When the Cardinal Pasman was sent by the Em-
 peror as his ambassador to Rome, to make a lively
 representation of the extremity to which the Catho-
 lic interest in that province was reduced, by the fre-
 quent victories obtained by that King, and the gene-
 ral submission of the greatest cities and towns in his

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The Pope
refuses pe-
cuniary aid
to the Em-
peror and
to the
Princes of
Germany
against the
King of
Sweden.

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obedience, and thereupon to press for such a relief as in such a case might be expected from Christ's Vicar, to save himself from the ingrateful importunity of that representation; the Pope positively refused to give him audience, or to receive him as ambassador, upon a suggestion, that no Cardinal could be an ambassador from any secular Prince. And when the ambassador urged the contrary practice, (which was notorious,) His Holiness made no other answer, than that no precedents were valid against his determination. The Cardinal replied, that he would not be restrained from representing the common calamity that had befallen Christendom by such an exception, but would (with his protestation against the violating of the laws of nations) attend the Emperor's farther direction; and in the mean time, that he, as a Cardinal, would make his relation in the Consistory (from which they could not exclude him) of all that he had to say. This, however, prevailed not with the Pope, nor would he lessen his treasure upon this most important occasion,

Prohibits
the observ-
ance of
peace when
made.

All which doth not make up the blackness of his crime; but that, when Germany was involved in that dismal ruin, all inclosures thrown up, and the whole country laid waste, when the plague and famine was broken in, and contended with the fire and the sword which should destroy most effectually, and should first kill, then the common Father, who would give no help, should do all he could, and take more pains (than, it may be, would have procured assistance for them) to hinder the miserable remainder that was left alive from preserving themselves; that he should neither bear a part in the war, nor endure
that

that it should be extinguished by a peace; nay, after he had obstructed all treaties towards it, and crossed and diverted all probable expedients which might procure it; when the Christian prudence and compassion of all other Catholic Princes concurred to put an end to those outrages, and to avert those calamities which had almost extirpated the German nation, (besides the waste it had made of the nobility and gentry of all the nations in Europe,) and had effected it, by agreeing upon such a peace as could only establish it; that when all his temporal inventions could no longer serve to propagate destruction, he then should set his spiritual instruments on work, threaten and pronounce damnation against every one who should submit to or observe the peace, and absolve all men from the most deliberate and solemn oaths which they had entered into to perform the articles of it on their part; this indeed was such a transcendent part of impiety and inhumanity as might well convert mankind to believe, that the office he usurped was never instituted by Christ; nor so savage an appetite ever permitted by him, that must be maintained and cherished by continual draughts of human blood: and it may be reasonably hoped and presumed, that this barbarous exorbitancy in the exercise of them hath wrought that very good effect amongst very good Catholics, that they have neither opinion of, nor reverence for, that his power and authority; since it doth not appear that any one Catholic, of what quality soever, hath been terrified by that devouring Bull from yielding all obedience to, and performing of all the articles of that peace, which he is obliged to observe; which, considering

CHAP. IX. dering the stupidity of that people, may be looked upon as a miracle next to his presumption.

His numerous canonizations.

His canonizations were indeed very numerous, as if he believed that he had more power in heaven than upon earth; Philip Neri, Ignatius Loyola, and Xavier, owe their being saints to him; besides the materials which were laid in by his providence, which have contributed to the preferment of many others to the same degree by some of his successors. And though Francis Borgia, who from being Duke of Candia, and a Grandee of Spain, became a Jesuit, was not yet ripe for a canonization during his reign, yet he declared him to be beatified, and by a special Bull of indulgence he granted that upon the day of his death a mass and extraordinary office should be celebrated in all the houses of the Jesuits; which had been never prescribed nor permitted in the like case before.

Prohibits a public funeral for Fra Paolo at Venice, which nevertheless is solemnized, though he died excommunicated.

Whatever authority he might have in heaven, he left very few marks of any that he had upon earth, even in those cases that might seem to be most relative to his spiritual function. When he was informed that Fra Paolo was dead at Venice, and that the Senate made great preparations for the solemnity of his funeral, he wrote to his Nuncio to prohibit them to proceed therein, or to perform any obsequies, or other offices of respect to his memory, for that he died excommunicated; at which they laughed, and proceeded with the more formality and lustre in the celebration, and put such an inscription upon his tomb, that testifies to the world that they believe he was not in the worse state for the Pope's excommunication.

Upon

Upon the general scandal that was taken by pious Catholics for the absurd custom that was introduced for the painting, adorning, and beautifying the images of saints upon the days of their festivals, that Pope published a Bull, which he called, "*Constitutio circa formam et habitum sacrarum imaginum*;" in which he notices the offence that was taken at those excesses, and strictly forbids all persons whatsoever to presume to put any new colours or paint upon any images, "*aut vestire cum alio habitu et formâ quàm in catholicâ et apostolicâ ecclesiâ ab antiquo tempore consuevit.*" Notwithstanding which prohibition, there are very few eminent churches in any Catholic countries where all the she-saints are not upon the solemn days of their festivals adorned with the best clothes, and in the best fashion, that is used by the best women of that place; and the blessed Virgin is as carefully set out in a *guarda infanta* in Spain, as she is dressed in her hair and other ornaments in France; besides that, it is well known in many places from what original those pictures are copied; which if our Lady knew, she would not think that they had been very tender of her honour, who had brought her into such company.

This Pope, upon a formal complaint made to him by the Bishop and Dean and Chapter of Seville in Spain, that it was a custom there for people generally, and the clergy and religious persons as much as any, to take tobacco in the churches, "*ac quod referre pudet, etiam sacrosanctum missæ sacrificium celebrando sumere &c.*" thereupon declares all persons who shall presume to take tobacco in any churches, "*sive solidum, sive in frustra concisum, aut in pulverem reductum, ore vel naribus et aliàs quomodo libet*"

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Publishes a Bull against dressing out the images of saints on the days of their festival.

Publishes a Bull against taking tobacco and snuff in churches during mass.

"bet

CHAP. " *bet sumere, sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ eo*
 IX. " *ipso absque aliquâ declaratione &c.*" which prohibi-

tion hath been so far from producing any reformation, that it is more used than ever by Clergy and Laity of all conditions; insomuch as nothing is more usual throughout Spain than for religious persons in their pulpits, and during the time in which they preach, to turn aside and snuff tobacco for their refreshment, and to do the same two or three times in their sermons; and the practice is since introduced with the same obstinacy into other Catholic provinces. How then can any man believe that they who refuse to submit and yield obedience to such wholesome injunctions and prescriptions, do think that the Pope hath any power or authority from Christ to meddle with their religion, or their manners?

Society of
 the Jesuit-
 esses.

To conclude this observation of the impotency of this Pope throughout his long reign of twenty-one years, we shall do him the justice to give one instance in which he found himself obeyed, though not without some difficulty, at least without some delay, and for his constancy wherein the world is indebted to him. It was his Bull, styled, "*Annulatio et suppressio pretensæ Congregationis Jesuitissarum.*" There had for some years before been several women (virgins as they pretended, nor was there any reproach cast upon them) who assembled themselves together, and (without the countenance of any public authority, for aught appears) formed a society by the name of Jesuitesses. They chose superiors, erected houses, especially in Italy, and in the hither parts of the High Germany; they formed oaths and other vows, prescribed rules and orders to be

be strictly observed amongst them, assumed a particular habit to themselves, professed the education of young women and girls in their several societies according to the principles of Catholic religion and of virtue, without any inclosure, and preserving the liberty to go abroad whither they had a mind; and from thence they got the appellation of Galloping Nuns. They were generally looked upon as women of piety and devotion, and many of them of very great parts of discourse; whereof some of our countrywomen of good Catholic families, and without any blemish upon their honour, Bedingfield, Bapthorpe, Ward, and others, were very eminent; and they could never have subsisted without disreputation so many years without the secret countenance, as well as connivance, of some sovereign power. Their design was to divide the sexes, and to make themselves confessors to women; and they did not doubt to get liberty to give absolution, professing and declaring (according to the profitable example of the male society) an extraordinary submission and obedience to the Pope's authority and commands. They had, from their first declared purpose, applied themselves to some of the late Popes (who are naturally as slow in denying as in granting) to be qualified and incorporated by their authority; but, by their short reigns and long forms, in which transactions of such a nature use to pass, without effect; and likewise without the least reproach or discountenance, which they interpreted to be such a kind of warrant, as they might well proceed in their design; and without doubt many others thought so too, and therefore shewed the more favour to them. They had never more confidence of success than when this Pope was
chosen,

CHAP. chosen, to whom they made an early address for his
IX. protection and confirmation. The reputation of the devotion and virtue of many of them, and their conversation, (which appeared more than ordinary in discourse and manners,) had procured them many friends, who interposed on their behalf, and desired the Pope to grant what they desired. Nor did His Holiness reject it suddenly, but sent out many commissions, and appointed many deputies, to examine their actions, and to consider and certify their opinions upon their proposals, which spent many years; and those they lost not in propagating their designs and improving their interest.

Bull for
their suppression.

Whether the common report from all countries, (which was not favourable to them,) or the discourses and advice of severe and sober men, (who thought it scandalous to Catholic religion,) or whether the society of the Jesuits (who were believed first to have inspired that people, and to have formed their design) grew jealous that they aspired to an authority that might too near rival theirs, whatsoever it was, the Pope grew very angry with them; and often reciting much of this that hath been said, and that he had resolved utterly to root up those mischievous weeds out of the fields of the Church, and had to that purpose given express order to his Nuncio in the lower parts of Germany, "*Verùm ille Dei timore ac nostro et sedis Apostolicæ respectu post habito &c.*" had forborne to execute his commands. He proceeds to say, "*plantas istas ecclesiæ Dei noxias ne ulterius se diffundant radicitus evellendas et extirpandas esse decrevimus;*" and so pronounces that pretended congregation of women "*seu virginum Jesuitissarum nuncupatarum, illarumque sectam et statum,*" to have

have been void and null from the beginning, and doth for ever suppress and extinguish them; and ab-
solves them from the observation of any vows they
had bound themselves, and all rules and orders they
had obliged themselves to observe; and strictly
charges and commands all those women, who had
gathered themselves, or remained together in any
pretended college or house, that they forthwith sepa-
rate and continue no longer together; and that they
presume no longer to wear that habit which they
had made choice of, and been accustomed to wear;
and never more to receive or admit any other woman
to wear the same, or to be of the same pretended so-
ciety: all which I have the more particularly set
down, because though it be a transaction of so late a
date as contains little more than forty years, and
the Bull itself is extant in the fourth tome of the
Bullarium, amongst those of Urban the Eighth, and
of the year sixteen hundred and thirty; yet I have
discoursed with many Catholics, who for the ridicu-
lousness of it do not believe that there was ever any
such real design, but that it is a calumny invented
by Protestants to expose their religion to reproach.
Nor yet did the power and passion of the Pope, vi-
gorously pursued, quickly find obedience; for though
it did hinder the propagation, many years passed be-
fore those congregations were dispersed; and when
they did retire into private houses, they did for the
most part persist in wearing the habit, and received
more than ordinary respect from the people; whereof
some of our countrywomen are yet (I am sure lately
were) alive in Rome itself, and continued their ha-
bit: and therefore I say again, as I said before, that
the world is beholden to Pope Urban for breaking
and

CHAP. IX. and destroying that cockatrice egg, which might have been hatched into millions of serpents; nor could any vigilance have prevented, or industry have extinguished, the fire that these female missionaries would by this time have cast in, or brought into, the most peaceable families of all nations.

Proceed-
ings of the
conclave
wherein
Innocent
X. is elect-
ed.

As the Bull of Gregory the Fifteenth produced neither unity nor integrity in the next conclave, as hath been observed in that time, so it could not be expected that it should have more virtue one and twenty years after. Such a long reign of Urban made it believed that his creatures would bestow the Papacy upon what subject they pleased; and without doubt they might have done so, if the two brothers had employed all their forces one way. But Cardinal Antonio was so loud a Frenchman, that with all his power he opposed every man who was proposed, or so much as wished by the Spaniard: whereas Francisco (who was always called Cardinal Barberini) desired not that any man should be chosen Pope who was grateful to France; and yet behaved himself with so much reservation, that the Spaniards trusted him not as of their party, but suspected all the visible discord between him and his brother to be the effect of dissimulation; nor could all their creatures in the conclave (who in number made a major part, and well enough discerned the mischief of the dissension) prevail with them to join both their interests upon one subject. Francisco was the more esteemed, but Antonio the more loved and followed; he did more harm to those whom he opposed, and made himself more odious to them, than his brother did good to those he wished well, or than he made himself grateful to. Cardinal Barberini was
only

only solicitous for a Pope upon whose affection his family might entirely depend, and so contracted his thoughts upon very few ; but Antonio was only upon the exclusive part, that none might be chosen who would not be liked by France. The Cardinal's heart was equally set upon Cardinal Pamphili and Cardinal Sachetti, who were both creatures of his uncle, and both always professed much affection and gratitude to the family ; but they were no sooner entered the conclave than the Spaniards excluded the latter of them, by direction, as they pretended, of their King ; but was in truth upon the desire of Cardinal Medicis, who would not endure that another subject of his brother should succeed a man who had so much affronted their family ; and when the Cardinal proposed privately to them that Pamphili might have their approbation, who had been long Nuncio in Spain, and was universally known to be of that faction, they pretended not to approve him, and said, their King desired to have him his friend, but not to have him Pope ; and so they overreached Cardinal Barberini, and kept him from being proposed, because they thought it not yet time ; and they knew that Cardinal Antonio had order from France peremptorily to exclude him, and therefore would have the conclave more tired with being together than it yet was, before they would mention him, whom of all others they desired should be chosen. And Cardinal Bentivoglio, whom the French desired to promote, being carried out of the conclave, and dead ; after two months inclosure in the hot months of June and July, when all the old men despaired of living to see a Pope chosen, the Spanish Cardinals seemed content that Pamphili might be proposed,

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and

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and Cardinal Barberini, by importunity, threats and promises, prevailed with his brother not to exclude him; whereby Cardinal Pamphili came to be chosen, who assumed the stile of Innocent the Tenth.

Innocent
X. Pam-
phili, per-
secutes the
Barberinis.

Though nothing was more manifest than that he was elected by the party and power of Cardinal Barberini, and the concurrence or silence of Cardinal Antonio, he had so deep a sense of the ill offices and malice that the latter had expressed and avowed towards him, that he scarce acknowledged or took notice of the obligations he had to the other, who made little noise in conferring them; so that the first resolution he took in his Pontificate seems to have been, that he would ruin the family of the Barberinis; of which Antonio's conscience gave him so early notice, and he so well knew that the licence of his former life had made him liable to many inquiries, that he was very little seen in Rome after the creation of Innocent, but within few days he fled in disguise with great expedition into France. Cardinal Barberini thought he had deserved a better return, and the Pope was willing that he should believe by Cardinal Panzirollo, who had the great ascendant over him, that the Pope thought so too. He was secure in the severity of his manners, and could have acquiesced in the plenty of his own acquisitions; but he found that he was no more exempt from the Pope's displeasure than his brother; and that there was a purpose to cast all the charge that had been expended upon that unreasonable war with the Duke of Parma and the Princes of Italy upon him, and to call him to account for all that had been taken out of the revenue or treasure of the Church, though by the warrant of the Pope; which would quickly de-
vour

vour the whole fortune of the family, how prodigious CHAP.
soever it was grown to be. This discovery made IX.
him, within a short time after, put himself with all
secrecy into a vessel that was bound for Genoa, and
from thence to make what haste he could to overtake
his brother, and to implore the protection of France.

Innocent was full seventy years of age when he
was elected Pope; a man of a sour and severe na- Character
ture, of very strong parts of body and mind, of long of Innocent
experience, good learning in the only learning of X.
that court, the canon law, and generally looked upon
as a wise man; and therefore there was throughout
Christendom an expectation that he would have
proved a good Pope, with reference to the Church,
and a good Prince, in suppressing those gross im-
positions and exactions which had been raised by his
predecessor; and which had brought so great an
odium upon the family of the Barberinis, that they
were thought worthy of any oppression, and to de-
serve no pity.

But the world quickly found itself undeceived in Governed
this expectation, by the Pope's immediate giving by Donna
himself up into the disposal of an impetuous woman, Olimpia.
Donna Olimpia, who had been wife to his elder bro-
ther, and was the mother of all the children who
were of the family of Pamphili. This woman, from
the time of his being Pope, (as she had done long
before,) so absolutely governed him, that she dis-
posed of all Bishoprics, Abbies, Canonries, and Be-
nefices, and whatsoever depended upon the Pope,
without controul or dispute; he did nothing but by
her advice; and she did nothing but for money, and
that in so public and scandalous a manner, that the
price of all ecclesiastical promotions was as well

CHAP. known as of any other commodities in the market :
 IX. — and all taxes and impositions in the State were so much raised, and the payment thereof exacted with so much severity and rigour, that the reign of Urban was looked upon as a golden age ; and the people became speedily so reconciled to the Barberinis, (who were so lately detested by them,) that they murmured openly at the oppression and persecution that they underwent. This woman industriously inflamed her captive Pope to the utter destruction of them, to which she had no other temptation than the malice of her nature, (for she had never received disobligation from them,) and the hope of getting the disposal of some of their large revenues and preferments.

Bull against
 all Cardi-
 nals going
 out of the
 dominions
 of the
 Church
 without
 the Pope's
 leave.

As soon as it was discovered that they were both got out of reach, Innocent was exceedingly provoked, and published a very angry Bull against all Cardinals who presumed to go out of the lands and dominions of the Church (which had never before been believed to be unlawful) without the licence of the Pope, and against those who at present had absented themselves without his leave. He urged the indecency and odiousness of it, that any Cardinals, who are "*pars corporis et membra ipsius Pontificis, in partem sollicitudinis Apostolicæ vocati, ut personaliter assistant in regimine universalis Ecclesiæ &c.*" That these men should absent themselves from their high station was not to be endured ; and therefore, to prevent this evil for the future, he declares for the time to come, that what Cardinal soever should presume, without the licence of the Pope for the time being, to remove his person out of the temporal dominions of the Church, "*statim et eo ipso, absque aliquâ judi-*
 " *cis*

“*cis vel alterius præcedente declaratione*,” he is to stand actually deprived of all immunities or privileges whatsoever: and for them who were at present guilty of this presumption, if they did not, within six months after the publication of this Bull, make their personal appearance in the court at Rome, they should, without any other declaration, “*incidere in pœnas interdicti ingressus Ecclesiæ* ;” and if they did not, after those six months were elapsed, return, they should stand deprived of all their offices and other revenues. And he was at least as good as his word; for, before the expiration of the term, he caused the whole estate of both, that he could lay hold on, to be seized upon by his own authority, upon pretence of a great debt due from them to the Church, and moreover caused many processes to be formed against Don Tadeo, the brother of both the Cardinals, and whose children should inherit all that the family had, or should heap together, and therefore were to be involved in the general ruin.

France was now under the conduct, if not the government, of Cardinal Mazarin, who had no more reverence for Innocent than Cardinal Richelieu had had for Urban; yet, upon the arrival of the Barberinis in that court, they both underwent an equal weight of mortification. The court of France looked upon the elder brother as a declared and avowed enemy, one who had been always powerful in the faction of Spain, and ought to have resorted thither for protection; and upon Cardinal Antonio as a man who had broken his trust, for he had been expressly commanded to declare an exclusion of Cardinal Pamphili, at the first shutting up of the conclave, but was overwitted or corrupted by his brother; so

Reception
of the Bar-
berinis in
France.

CHAP. that they were equally offended with both. The two
 IX. brothers staid long after their arrival in France before they could procure access to Cardinal Mazarin; and then they received but very dry entertainment, which they submitted to for some years, that it might be the more evident, that their condition was desperate, if it were not relieved by the interposition and power of that crown; for at Rome the Pope proceeded against them furiously, and seized upon their revenue, and whatsoever else could be discovered of theirs: all which served in the end to give lustre to the authority of Cardinal Mazarin, and to manifest how much he was the greater man.

Though interdicted by the Pope, they exercise their ecclesiastical functions in France.

And it is observable, that, notwithstanding their eclipse in France, and after the expiration of the term limited for their return, under the penalty mentioned before, they were so far from looking upon themselves as interdicted the Church, that they never failed to exercise their daily functions; which shews how little reverence they had for his supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Cardinal Mazarin compels the Pope to reinstate the Barberinis.

At this period, when the Pope every day declared more and more his entire devotion to Spain, and his aversion from France, insomuch that the ambassador of that crown could seldom procure an audience, and only short and perfunctory answers, and was compelled to resort to Donna Olimpia for her favour to compass any thing he desired, which was the case indeed of all other ambassadors; when the Pope, to shew how little he esteemed the power of Cardinal Mazarin, and of France itself, refused to make his brother (a Dominican Friar of no great eminency indeed) a Cardinal, though pressed to do it with all that importunity and impetuosity that is peculiar to that

that court; when He refused to receive an ambassador, or so much as a letter from the King of Portugal, with whom France was in a strict alliance, or to supply the vacant sees of Bishops in that kingdom; even though there was but one Bishop left alive there, as if he intended, and thought it to be in his power, to extinguish Christianity in a whole nation; in a word, when His pride and hypocrisy were so notorious that Spain only had veneration for him; (which nevertheless could not prevail with him to excommunicate their rebels either of Portugal or Catalonia, although, without doubt, the rebellion of the last at least, if not of the former, would at the first blast of it have been suppressed, so much his love to Spain gave place to his fear of France;) at this period, when all men thought that the best prognostic that could be made of the Pope's mind and of his manners, of his nature and of his intentions, was from his face, which was the most ungracious and ugly that ever disfigured a human visage; Cardinal Mazarin now thought it high time to rescue France and the Church itself from the tyranny of his government, and made a war upon him, upon all those points in which he had behaved himself most magisterially. He received it not as any gratification that the Pope had made his brother a Cardinal, (which he did the most against his affection, and the most against his understanding, that any action could be,) but assumed the defence and protection of the Barberini family, that he might abstain from which, the making his brother a Cardinal had been the particular bribe; he prosecuted him by all the reproaches imaginable, of want of justice, and of want of power to warrant his proceedings against the Cardinals Francisco and Anto-

CHAP. IX. nio, as if the King would vindicate their innocence by his army in Italy; and, in fine, he prevailed so far, that Cardinal Barberini had first liberty to return to Rome, and had all his estate restored to him; and, in a short time after, Donna Olimpia thought it so necessary for her own benefit, and even for the support and protection of the house of Pamphili, to make a firm friendship with the Barberinis, that she persuaded the Pope to make an alliance with it, and to depend upon Cardinal Barberini as a fast friend; upon which all was likewise remitted to Antonio, who returned to Rome in triumph: and their nephew, son of the elder brother, was likewise made a Cardinal; so that they had now as many voices in the Consistory as they had ever had in the time of Urban their uncle; and from that time to his death the Pope was most governed by the Barberinis.

Jurisdiction
of the Pope
questioned
in France.

The reign of the Pope was so late, and the manifold scandalous things which were done in it were so notorious to all the world, and are yet retained so freshly in the memory of many, that I shall only mention one or two particulars, by which it will enough appear how worthily the Christian world was supplied with an Universal Bishop, and how much religion was advanced and secured by his definitions and determinations, and consequently what kind of understanding those men were of, who did believe that Christ had made choice of such a Vicar, who made choice of such a female deputy to perform the function for him.

Origin of
the dispute
between
the Jansen-
ists and Je-
suits.

It was this Pope's misfortune, that there fell out a difference amongst the Roman Catholics, upon a point in religion which had been long debated in former

former ages ; and the Council of Trent had declined CHAP.
the giving any determination in it, and was rather IX.
contented, even whilst they sat, to have their resolution declared by either party to be on their side, than to offend either by a clear and plain decision ; but falling now to be taken up again by men of more warmth and noise, it much troubled the peace of the Church, especially in France and Flanders.

There had been one Jansenius, who, for his eminency in learning, and fame for piety, had been made Bishop of Ypres in Flanders, and in his lifetime had printed many books, in some of which he had handled those difficult points of grace and free will, which had been debated in so many ages before ; and his books had been much esteemed by the University of Louvain ; the opinions themselves had been generally maintained and defended by the Friars of St. Dominic in all places, and as generally contradicted and exploded by the other of St. Francis.

The Dominicans support the Jansenists, and the Franciscans the Jesuits.

After the death of Jansenius, the Jesuits declared great dislike of his books, and first examined the grounds of his opinions in their schools and public exercises in divinity, and took upon them to inveigh against his doctrine with extraordinary bitterness ; and that again was defended with the same intemperance of spirit. The chief and most popular argument that was urged by the Jesuits was, that it was the doctrine of Calvin, and so ought to be condemned as heretical ; and the chief argument used by the Jansenists was, that it was the doctrine of St. Augustin, and therefore could not but be orthodox, and they who would condemn St. Austin might be justly looked upon as enemies to the Catholic religion. The presses were filled with the books of this argument,

Calvinism charged upon the Jansenists, who defend their doctrine by St. Austin.

CHAP. IX. argument, and all pulpits debated and handled no-

thing else ; with so much revilings of the persons of each, as if modesty and charity had been exploded out of the number of Christian virtues. The Society of Jesuits to a man, in all nations, embarked and listed themselves in this war, and they wrote and preached with more eloquence than the other ; but with such insolence as irreconciled more to them, than the strength of the other drew to their opinion : and both the University of Louvain, where Janse-
nius had so long sat in the chair, seemed to adhere to his doctrine, and the College of the Sorbonne, between approving the opinions and disliking the temper and carriage of the Jesuits, were thought more inclined to the former ; which provoked many of the Bishops of France, and many of the most learned and eminent of their Clergy, to declare themselves enemies to the Jesuits, rather than friends to the others.

Appeal to
the Pope.

This pen and pulpit war had an influence upon the quiet of the State, which was every day troubled with complaints and appeals from each other ; and both seemed desirous, at least willing, to refer the decision to the Pope ; and the Cardinals who understood not, nor cared, who was in the right, were very willing that the debate should be carried before him, who had (whilst it was depending at this distance) manifested a great regard of the Jesuits, and as much disrespect towards the College of the Sorbonne, with which they neither were, nor can ever be surprised : and they found both much increased when the scene was carried to Rome, where the society is thought as omnipotent as the Pope, he being most inspired by them ; and the old champions of that controversy,
the

the sons of St. Dominic, were so totally subdued in that climate by the prevalence of the Jesuits, that they only studied distinctions how they might appear neutral; which since that time hath much lessened their reputation in all places. CHAP.
IX.

The University of Louvain, though the Jesuits had great power there and in that whole government, made choice of such deputies to attend the Pope as were most notoriously affected to the opinions of Jansenius, and some who had written in defence of them; the like choice was made at the Sorbonne of the most eminent Doctors thereof, who had most signally opposed and incensed the Jesuits; and they likewise (though they had least need) sent some of their members to prosecute their determinations. These representatives were never permitted to have one audience together from the Pope, nor from the Consistory, nor from any two Cardinals at once; the power of the Jesuits being so great in Rome, and the name of a Jansenist being so branded by them for Calvinists, that those of the Cardinals who were without any passion in their judgments, and had little favour for those of the Society, durst not trust any of their body so much as to confer of the argument together. The Jesuits talked loud and imperiously, and took and sought all opportunities to put neglects and scorns upon the persons of the others; who, with more modesty, behaved themselves with courage enough; and finding that they were more acceptable when they made their visits apart and single, than when they went two or three together, they observed that method, that they might find more freedom from those from whom they expected

Proceed-
ings at
Rome.

CHAP. IX. pected justice, and good offices towards the procur-
ing it.

Conduct of
the Pope
and Car-
dinals.

The first business in that Court is always the performance of ceremonies, in the reception whereof they had no cause to complain; and therein the Pope himself was as gracious as they could wish, and dismissed them in such a manner, as if he very well understood their business, and in a very short time would put an end to it. Their next business was to get such a Congregation to be appointed as might hear the whole matter debated, and the arguments and allegations urged on either side; that they might make a full and clear report to the Pope and to the Consistory of the truth of the case of the matter of fact, and of the proofs that were made. There is so exact a relation of all that passed in the solicitation of that affair by Monsieur St. Amour, a learned doctor of the Sorbonne, employed then at Rome in it, that it administers great information and pleasure to the reader; and it is great pity that the good man (who is known to be a good Catholic, and so confessed to be, and the truth of his relation no where questioned) is discouraged or restrained from finishing his account. After the first or second visit, and when they began to enter upon their business, and to be importunate for a Congregation, they seemed to be very troublesome. There were few of the Cardinals who understood any thing of the controversy, or had faculties which made them capable of being informed. They who were prepared by the Jesuits, and seemed to have read Jansenius, entertained them with reproaches, and accused them of holding these and these monstrous opinions, which it was high time for

for the Pope to condemn, and to punish the authors CHAP.
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and supporters of them ; and when they disclaimed
all those opinions, as neither contained in Jansenius,
nor believed by any of them, and would have pro-
ceeded to the informing them of the truth, the Cardi-
nals rescued themselves by giving them new ill words,
as a people that ought not to be believed. The very
few who did in truth understand the differences in
question, or who did ingenuously desire to be in-
formed, received them always very civilly, and la-
mented (if there were but one present) that the mat-
ter they came about was so little understood in
Rome ; and from thence they concluded, that they
would receive little satisfaction by their prosecution.
No man seemed to receive them with more candour
and grace, or to hear them with more patience and
attention, than Innocent himself ; yet when they
enlarged upon the point, and cited the words of St.
Austin to this and that purpose, he appeared not to
be at ease, and often said, “ *Io non sono Teologo, Io*
“ *non sono Teologo ;*” and then dismissed them with a
renewed promise that he would forthwith name a
Congregation to hear them, which he never thought
of afterwards.

The conclusion of this so great matter of faith was, The Pope
condemns
the Five
Propositions
collected
out of Jan-
senius.
that after they had solicited to be heard for the space
of fifteen or sixteen months, with such importunity
as made every body weary or ashamed of hearing
them, they could never procure a Congregation ; nor
that their adversaries and they might be heard toge-
ther in any place. Many of them left Rome for fear
of being banished from thence, and returned into
their own country ; and others the more securely
stayed there to see and observe the end of it ; and
truly

CHAP. truly the end of it was shortly after very notorious.
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The Pope, finding it much more easy to judge than to understand, or believing that the understanding of the Jesuits was sufficient for them and him too, without ever hearing the doctrine debated by the persons concerned, or in the Consistory, pronounced his definitive decree in the words and terms prepared by the Jesuits; in which he condemned the Five Propositions collected out of Jansenius (who had been then dead about twenty years) as false, scandalous, and heretical; and pronounced an anathema upon all who should maintain or defend them; and that he might be sure to restore peace to the Church by this Apostolical determination, he required by another act, (shortly after published by the same infallible authority,) that all Bishops should subscribe to the verity of those his new articles of faith, and require all their Clergy under their obedience to renounce the believing of any of those condemned heresies.

The Jansenists deny that the Propositions are in his works.

But now the world could hold out laughing no longer; and it fell out, as it usually doth upon all excesses of jurisdiction, when men will immoderately extend their power farther than it can possibly reach, persons most concerned and grieved usually make it less than in truth it is, or deny that of right they have any at all. The Pope's decision found little reverence and submission either to his person or his chair; and the foul circumstances which had attended upon his judicial spirit was discoursed of in all Catholic assemblies with a very Catholic licence and detestation; and the Jansenists, when they saw with how little gravity they had proceeded at Rome, gave over being serious too, and made themselves merry

merry with the Pope. They found no fault with the decree, nor complained of not being heard; possibly they believed that his spirit could as well discern without it as with it; but they said, that they were not at all concerned in the determination, and that those Propositions, which were under so many anathemas condemned by the Pope, were not to be found in Jansenius; and that he had never avowed any of them.

This evasion exceedingly provoked the Jesuits, who called them (with better warrant than formerly) heretics; and accused them of opposing and contradicting the Pope's judgment in matters of faith; and they with as much mettle replied, that they did not question his judgment in matters of faith, but in matters of fact, in the discerning whereof he was as fallible as other men, and depended upon what he was informed as much as others do; as appeared by this very sentence, wherein he had condemned Jansenius for having said and written what in truth he had neither written or said; which being matter of fact, ought to be proved, and could be known no otherwise to the Pope, than it was to other men.

The scene became now changed, and (as it commonly falls out between fierce and angry disputants) each maintains what he need not to maintain, and undertakes to prove a thousand absurdities impertinent to the matter in controversy, but excellent fuel to make the fire that was thoroughly kindled to flame out abundantly. The Jesuits, who had lately much laboured in producing many discourses of conscience, being now chafed with disputing, and believing themselves strong enough to remove any obstruction that was cast in their way, published a very confident discourse,

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And contend that the Pope, though supreme judge in matter of faith, is not so in matter of fact.

Prosecution of the controversy in books on both sides.

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course, in which they averred that the Pope was no less judge of matter of fact, than he is of faith, and therefore that all men were as much bound to believe that those propositions are contained in Janse-
nius, as they are to believe that they are heretical; since it must be presumed that he would never have condemned them to be the last, if he had not been very sure of the truth of the first. And Innocent was of their mind, and with notable obstinacy (which was his chief talent, and which he bequeathed as a legacy to his successor) renewed all his former decrees and declarations; and required, without farther delay, an entire submission and obedience to all his dictates. But this was a new case, and raised the spirit of the Sorbonne, who had no opinion in truth of his faculty in defining matters of faith, but would not endure that it should extend likewise to matters of fact; and thereupon they severely censured two or three of the Society who had preached or printed, or otherwise maintained, that authority to be in the Pope.

Pascal's
Provincial
Letters.

The Jansenists, upon these advantages, gave over the writing large volumes upon the original quarrel, which few men read but they who were intoxicated on the one side or the other; and they betook themselves to write little animadversions, by way of letter, that contained one or two sheets of paper, which every body read with delight; in which they described the nature and humour of the Jesuits, and published their opinions in matter of conscience; which produced answers from them in the same volumes, and with their natural insolence and averring the truth of what was objected, which they were not obliged to have done; and this again drew upon them such sharp replies, till the letters written
against

against them amounted (being collected together, CHAP. IX. which all men had the curiosity to do) to a great volume in quarto, under the title of “ the Provincial Letters ;” which all read, and will always read, with great pleasure, who are delighted with the most natural wit and the greatest eloquence and propriety of words that is extant in the French, or, it may be, in any other language : and to how high a pitch soever the French language is ascended, it will not deny, but that those letters are a great ornament to it.

It is evident that they broke the heart of the Jesuits, who have visibly since hung down their heads, and had no other way to redeem themselves from the last contempt, than by procuring a positive order and command from the King, that neither they nor the other party should continue that way of writing any longer, under great penalties. Yet it discovered one secret, which probably troubles them as much as any other part of their sufferings ; that whereas they are most unjustly accused of knowing the secrets of all private families, and of being the greatest and most skilful spies in the world, they never were able to find out who was the author of those Letters whilst he lived, and till his friends thought it injustice to his memory to conceal it ; and then they knew, that, against all suggestions and insinuations that it was this or that advocate, or such a Bishop, or another whom they thought worthy to be their enemy, it was a private gentleman of no profession, but endowed with excellent learning, piety, and virtue ; which made the wounds they had received to bleed afresh, and fester the more ; so that, having found in what church he had been interred, (which, as I remember,

Effects of
the Provin-
cial Letters
upon the
Jesuits.

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member, was some leagues distant from Paris, where his estate lay,) they employed some agents to negotiate with the Curate of that parish, and who had often assisted him in his sickness, to declare that, before his death, he found infinite compunction, and passionately lamented the having been author of these Letters: but they easily discerned, that this credit and reputation was too strongly and substantially built to be demolished by such weak and impotent blasts.

The Sorbonne condemns the opinions of the Jesuits.

A great number of the most learned and eminent Bishops and Prelates of France (for in Flanders they were more subdued, the Archbishop of Mechlen and Bishop of Ghent being discountenanced to the highest degree, and threatened to be deprived) assumed the courage to refuse to subscribe to what was required, or to command their Clergy to do it; and made an address and remonstrance to the King and the Pope, to which they set their hands, and in which they gave many reasons why they ought not to be compelled to make any such subscription, and likewise inserted many such expressions as made it evident that they looked upon the Jesuits as the sole prosecutors of that affair. But the greatest part of the Curés of Paris spoke plainer language; and, as they spoke with freedom enough against the decree itself, and made all those exceptions, and others to it, which have been mentioned, so they made many bitter invectives against the Society, as the corrupters of Christianity, and the patrons of all licence and corruption in manners, and demanded justice against them and many of their doctrines, which were carefully collected into a schedule, with the names of the authors who had published them, and the chapter and the page where
the

the very words were contained. The publication of CHAP.
IX. them in this manner produced the effect it desired, in exceedingly lessening the opinion that had been contracted of the Jesuits' piety and devotion, and the reverence that had been paid to them; and without doubt withdrew the respect of very many considerable persons from them. But it did not produce that public prosecution in justice as was expected, in the branding such enormous and monstrous conclusions; though some of them underwent the severe condemnation of the Sorbonne, and the Parliament had a very great inclination to have assumed the examination both of the doctrines and the persons; for though there was no one man of the Society disclaimed the opinions, they all said, they could not be charged upon the Society, but upon the particular persons who had published them; and yet all the books which contained those opinions were printed with all those formal licences, by the several Superiors, as are prescribed by their rules, and may justly be said to involve the whole Society. Innocent was not moved with all this, either to suspend the execution of his own decree, which he saw was every day more and more contemned, nor to examine or take notice of those scandalous doctrines, with the maintenance and defence whereof the Jesuits were charged, but continued the same animosity and fierceness against the Jansenists which he had before, even to his death. As this fell out before the execution of his decree, or any submission to his determination, we shall have occasion again to observe the farther prosecution of it in the reign of his successor; and at last it will appear, what jurisdiction and authority were found necessary rather to lay

CHAP. that unruly controversy asleep than to determine it ;
 IX. — neither of which could be done by the Papal power,
 and yet was done principally to preserve the Society
 from farther disgrace.

The Pope
 forbids the
 observance
 of the peace
 of Germa-
 ny.

The choler that Pope Urban had expressed against the peace of Germany was rather against the preliminaries towards it by the cessation; which was therefore the more cruel, that he would not allow those who were faint with the loss of blood to take a little breath to refresh themselves. The final peace was not concluded till some years after the reign of Innocent; who, imitating his predecessor in assigning or contributing nothing towards the maintenance of the war, but sending an extraordinary Nuncio by all artifices to prevent the peace, outdid him in his passion and rage, when he could no longer hinder the conclusion of it. He begins his Bull for the declaration of the nullity of it, with “*Zelus Domus Dei animum nostrum assidue &c.*” according to the natural prefaces of that Court to all acts of blood and cruelty; when, by some text of Scripture, or exalted expression of their love and zeal for his service, they make God himself to blow the trumpet towards the most impious wars, and for the propagation and countenance of the foulest actions, which he hath plainly declared himself to condemn and to abhor. Then he professes, with what grief and trouble of heart he hath been informed of the peace lately concluded at Osnaburgh and at Munster, (for the dissent of the French to have the Spanish interest comprehended had made the treaty to be held in two places,) against all the endeavours he could use, and against the protestation of his venerable brother Fabius, (who was his extraordinary

Nuncio

Nuncio then there, and afterwards his successor in CHAP.
 the Papacy,) who, he said, had declared the articles of IX.
 that peace to be unjust and void, because it was “no-
 “ *tissimi juris quamcunque transactionem seu pactio-*
 “ *nem in rebus ecclesiasticis, sine præfatæ sedis au-*
 “ *thoritate factam, nullam, nulliusque roboris et mo-*
 “ *menti existere:*” which, if true, or if Catholic Princes
 believed it to be true, the Latin Church would un-
 dergo a much more insupportable slavery under His
 Holiness, than the Greek Church doth sustain under
 the tyranny of the Grand Signior. Then he pro-
 ceeds, out of the tenderness of his conscience, “*pro*
 “ *commissi nobis ex alto pastoralis officii debito provi-*
 “ *dere volentes &c.*” to express his own indignation
 at that peace; and “*de Apostolicæ sedis plenitudine,*”
 he declares all those articles which had any reference
 to the ecclesiastical state, or to ecclesiastical persons,
 “*præjudicium etiam minimum afferunt, aut inferre*
 “ *quoquomodo dici vel censi possent &c. ipso jure*
 “ *nulla, irrita, invalida, &c.;*” with that multitude of
 other words which their capriccios are accustomed
 to, and nobody thinks worth the considering, when
 all the ecclesiastical Princes and other Bishops, and
 (for aught appeared to the contrary) all the Clergy
 that was concerned, cheerfully gave their consent to
 what was agreed, and well knew that there could be
 no peace without those concessions; nor did they
 give any thing that they had not been long without,
 and secured the rest by releasing an impotent claim
 of what they had no rational hope to recover, and
 were in evident danger to lose what they were yet in
 possession of: and so he positively requires and for-
 bids all persons to observe the peace, and frankly
 absolves them from all the oaths they had taken for

CHAP. the observation thereof, to which not one Catholic
IX. ever submitted.

Decision of
the Pope in
favour of
the Jesuits
against the
Bishop of
Angelopoli-
tana.

The last determination that ever he made in any thing relating to religion was in behalf of the Jesuits, against the Bishop of Angelopolitana in the West Indies, a learned and an eloquent man, who in his own behalf, and in the name of many other Bishops of that patriarchate, came to Rome to complain of the unrighteous proceedings of the Jesuits in those parts, their scandalous doctrines, and compounding with the native Pagans to become half Christians, and to remain Gentiles in the other part of their belief and practice; and that they will not receive any advice or order from the Bishops or Metropolitans, in cases which do exceed, or are not comprehended within the privileges which are granted to them. Innocent gravely advised the Bishop, without examining the truth of the allegation, “*ut* “*Christianæ mansuetudinis memor, erga societatem* “*Jesu, quæ laudabili suo instituto in ecclesiâ Dei tam* “*fructuosè laboravit, paterno se gerat affectu &c.*” and declares, that in any difference which should arise between them, upon the interpretation of their privileges, (as the Jesuits could not be without the wit to justify whatsoever they said or did under the protection of their privileges,) there should be no recourse to any Bishop or Metropolitan in the Indies, but that the appeal should be to the Pope himself; and, which is yet more admirable, he declares, “*Non* “*indigere patres societatis approbatione prævioque* “*examine Episcopi, seu licentiâ, sed solum benedic-* “*tione:*” so that the Bishops must ordain them Priests, whatever they believe of their learning or their manners, which is more than they can chal-
lenge

lenge yet in any Catholic province in Europe; and, after all, the poor Bishop was not suffered to return to the Indies, to give an account to his brethren of the honour that the Universal Bishop vouchsafed to confer upon them, but was removed to another Bishopric in the most desert parts of Spain, where he died shortly after, a sacrifice to the displeasure of the Society.

The kingdom of Portugal gave this miserable Pope more trouble; and he loved his ease so well, that he desired to be without the obligations of his function. There remained now in that whole kingdom but one Bishop alive; and the King of Spain would not endure that any new should be made; and Innocent had made a vow never to displease him, and had hitherto given himself some ease by obstinately refusing to acknowledge that King, or to receive any ambassador or other minister from him. But his own dear brother, Cardinal Mazarin, would not suffer him to enjoy the pleasure of that slumber; he prevailed with the most Christian King to put him in mind roundly of his duty, and to tell him that he took too much upon him to judge of the right and title and descent of Crowns, and to the government of nations, which could not belong to him, but was to be decided by the laws and constitutions of kingdoms; and that when all other Kings and Princes (only the single person who was a party excepted) acknowledged a Monarch, who was entirely possessed of all the dominions he pretended a right to, and received ambassadors from him, (which it could not be presumed they would have done, without being well informed of the title he justly laid claim by,) it must seem to them all that His Holiness refusing to con-

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IX.

Cardinal
Mazarin
denies the
power of
the Pope to
judge of
titles to
Crowns.

CHAP. IX. cur with them could proceed from nothing but the assuming a jurisdiction to himself to determine the controversy, which too much concerned all other Princes and States to permit.

Remonstrance of the King of France against the Pope's conduct towards Portugal.

When this plain and good counsel could not awaken him out of his lethargy, the King of France commanded his ambassador to pursue him with continual and loud instances; and at last to present and publish a Remonstrance on the behalf of Portugal, in which they complained of his injustice and impiety, that (being a Catholic nation that had never cherished or endured a heresy to grow amongst them, but had been always dutiful children to the Sacred Chair, and all entirely in subjection to their natural King, who had only right to govern them, and his title to which they set out) he should refuse to acknowledge them as such; and that, by denying his Bull for the consecration of Bishops in the many vacant sees, he should threaten the suppression of the Catholic religion itself in that kingdom: after which, and many unanswerable arguments, very confidently urged and insisted on against his having any such power and authority as he pretended to, they told him, with the same confidence, that if he continued in this unfatherly resolution towards his children, they would likewise forget that they were his children, and would choose a Patriarch for the regulation and government of that Church that he had rejected or deserted. The Remonstrance is translated into all languages, and is well known and understood in all nations, without having ever had the least answer to it, and doth manifest enough how far the Catholics of all nations were from believing that the Pope's authority is a part of the Catholic faith.

When

When he had governed very little, and been go-
 verned very much, for the space of ten years, and
 was as weary of the world as the world was of him,
 he began to reflect, with great agony of mind, upon
 the no good and much hurt he had done in the ad-
 ministration of his Apostleship. Upon the repre-
 sentations of all the courts of Catholic Princes of the
 scandal which his government gave to all the world,
 and of the frequent lampoons which were cast abroad
 in all places, and not concealed from his own view,
 but especially upon Donna Olimpia's having prevail-
 ed upon him to create a boy of eighteen years of age
 (scarce of any quality, and of the most abject parts
 of understanding, and the most dissolute parts in
 manners) a Cardinal, to the reproach and infamy of
 the College; and for no other reason but being her
 nephew, and to manifest the extravagancy of her
 spiritual power, the instance whereof is still living
 as a monument of that Pope's madness, and of his
 contempt of religion. He had for some years before
 pretended to withdraw himself from the empire of
 Donna Olimpia, that is, that she should withdraw
 herself from the court; but this proved only a pre-
 tence; for his affection was too deeply rooted in him
 to live without her; so that it was only an absenting
 herself during those hours of the day which were
 subject to all men's observation, and repairing thi-
 ther in the evenings, which could be taken notice of
 only by those who durst not discourse of what they
 saw; but her interest was not lessened, nor the pro-
 fit she reaped by it abated. The credit and virtue of
 Cardinal Barberini, and the new alliance which she
 had made with him, gave her many advantages; for
 the Pope consulted most with him, and he was very
 just

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IX.Death of
Innocent.

CHAP. just to her in the preservation of the old kindness to
 IX. her; and her diligence and attendance about him was so necessary, that she departed not from his chamber till the moment of the Pope's death, which she concealed as long as was possible, and till she had caused those things of value to be conveyed out of the Court, which she had suffered to remain there so long. So died Innocent, after the eightieth year of his age was expired, and left behind him the fame of a very weak and wilful man, who was neither fit to govern the Church nor the State, and lost all the reverence and esteem of Christian Princes, for the scandal he brought into and upon the government and religion, the latter of which he neither understood nor cared for; and if he were Christ's Vicar, he carried as ill an account with him to his Master, as most who had been deputed to that service before him.

Election of
 Alexander
 VII. Chigi.

There was not now a more universal expectation of a new Pope, than that there should be such an one as would vindicate the Sacred Chair from the foul blemishes and reproaches which the last man had brought upon it, and who would begin that vindication, by taking full vengeance upon the infamous Donna Olimpia, against whom there was no kind or species of transgression that could not have been justly charged and amply proved. Nor did this purpose or expectation more possess the people than it did the Conclave itself, which seemed to contain in it but two factions; the one for the choice of a Pope who would cause the ill actions of the last to be thoroughly examined, and the lewd woman to be destroyed; the other, that such a man might be elected, who would prevent the like enormity for the future, without exercising much rigour upon what
 was

was past: but they of this spirit were thought to be of so small a number, that nobody doubted they would be suddenly so much overpowered, that the Conclave would be very short. The interposition of the Crowns was of no other signification, than the subject proposed was thought qualified for one of the purposes aforesaid; nor was either of them solicitous for the preservation of the family that they had never cared for, except it was attended with some other convenience. The Barberinis, of which there were three Cardinals in the Conclave, were very powerful; and the virtue of the eldest was so much revered, that it was generally believed Cardinal Francisco would have come out Pope, (for he had one day thirty-three voices,) if it had not been for his known affection to the house of Pamphili, which he would not be prevailed with to desert. When the Conclave had continued near four months without any appearance of union, the party that had most laboured for the preservation of Donna Olimpia began to incline to such a moderation, that if those might be excluded who were known to be at that defiance with her, that for revenge had vowed and laboured her destruction, they would no longer insist upon the election of such a one as was known to adhere to her interest, but would be well contented that such a one might be named, who in all probability would govern himself by the rules of justice, and ordinary prudence. This brought the Cardinal Chigi upon the stage, which pleased the Cardinal Barberini well; for he being a Cardinal created by Innocent, it was not probable that he would shew any sharpness against the family of his founder, which was not the custom of the Conclave; and the brutal behaviour at
present

CHAP. present of that Cardinal, whose want of merit and all
 IX. virtue had drawn that eternal odium upon Innocent, in all the foul language against his memory, and to the prejudice of his aunt, did her more good than harm; every man so much abhorring his person and his manners, that they thought it dishonourable to concur with him in any thing. On the other side, they who knew well the obligations that Cardinal Chigi had to Innocent, knew well likewise, that in the very time he had received them he never made the least acknowledgment for them to Donna Olimpia, nor could ever be persuaded to make her one visit, which he always excused by the uncourtliness of his nature, and his never having been bred in the conversation of women. So that both parties satisfied themselves that he was sufficiently qualified for both their purposes, and though both France and Spain had once resolved to exclude him, they were at last both contented to accept him; and so with an universal consent, and without any opposition, he was elected Pope, and took the name of Alexander the Seventh.

His character and his conduct towards his family.

Alexander was surely as acceptable at the time when he was chosen to all the Princes of Europe, and to all the people of Rome, as any man could have been that was within the inclosure of the Conclave. He was esteemed learned, and had the elegance of the Latin tongue in great perfection, and was a master of all polite learning, and excelled Pope Urban in poetry, and had good experience in the transaction of public affairs. They who knew him but little had very much esteem of him, as a man of wisdom and extraordinary civility, upon which account the Princes of Germany, who had known him

him during his Nunciature, were exceedingly pleased with his promotion; and they who knew him better, and were not abundantly confident of the sincerity of his nature, thought him a wary man, and not like to commit any gross faults. In his entrance into the Pontificate he did two great actions, both which had as much of popularity in them, and raised his reputation as high, far and near, as any thing he could have done. The first was, his declaring publicly, and industriously, and affectedly, that he would never suffer any of his kindred to come to Rome; that he loved them very well, and would do them good, that they might be the better for his promotion, but that they should not come to Rome; which he confirmed with an oath or vow; and took delight in professing, that he would banish nepotism from that court, which was a weed that had grown up lately, (that is, two hundred years,) and had brought so great scandal upon the Church. And of his full resolution to remain steady in this particular he gave a seasonable evidence; for, as soon as his election was known, the Great Duke, whose subject he was, sent immediately to Sienna, (the city where his family had always resided in the quality of gentlemen of very moderate fortunes,) to congratulate with his brother, sisters, and sons, upon the advancement of his brother, and sent some presents to them all; and the same respect they received from that city, and all the neighbours of quality. And Don Mario his brother, and his son, though they had received advertisement of the Pope's pleasure, believed their presence would quickly remove that prejudice; and so made haste to put themselves in such an equipage as might be fit for their new greatness to make a
visit

CHAP. IX. visit to the Pope, and were accordingly attended by

the Magistrates and principal persons of Sienna some leagues on their journey; with which he being quickly informed, was so highly offended, that he sent a messenger to meet them in the middle of their way, and to command them in his name, without advancing farther, to return immediately to Sienna, and remain there: this they durst not but presently obey, and returned with as much privacy as they could to the place from whence they came so lately in such triumph; nor could any body have imagined that he would have given such a mortification to his own family, if he had not intended they should always remain strangers to him.

Prosecutes
Donna O-
limpia.

His second popular action was, his discovery that he resolved strictly to examine the miscarriages which had been in the time of his predecessor, and especially to call Donna Olimpia to a severe account for the money she had received out of the treasure of the Church; and he appointed a committee of persons unloved by her, and well acquainted with her, to receive the complaints that should be brought against her, and the testimonies that should be brought of all her exactions and offences, of what kind soever; whereof some were of such a magnitude, as were thought might reach her life. She was not without some friends, who desired to preserve the family from ruin, for she had contracted all the general odium against herself and the dead Pope: but her son, the Prince Pamphili, who had married the Princess Roxana, and two other noble Princes, who had upon her promises, or their own expectations, married her daughters, were loved and pitied the more for the extreme ill nature that she had expressed

pressed towards them all, during her whole reign ; she having prevailed with Innocent to banish her son from Rome for many years, that he might not be thought her rival in the Pope's favours, or in conferring his graces ; nor were the others permitted to have access to him : however, they were now equally, at least jointly, concerned in preserving the vast wealth she had heaped up for herself, and which she must leave behind her, from being a prey to others, who had deserved no better than themselves, against whom nothing could be objected. Cardinal Barberini was their fast friend, and had defaced the memory of all the oppression that he had sustained from Innocent and Donna Olimpia, in the beginning of his reign, with the sense and gratitude for the benefits he received from them both in the end of it, though they scarce repaired the damage of the former : but all this weighed little against the general clamour, and the implacable prejudice that was in the Pope's heart against her, whose name he could not hear mentioned without some commotion. She sent one day to him, by a person not unacceptable, to beseech him to admit her to an audience, when she was confident she should appear to be innocent from many of the aspersions which had been cast upon her ; to which the Pope answered presently, " That she had been too familiar with one Pope, for another to have any thing to do with her ;" and so turned away : and within few days after, that he might be free from those perpetual importunities, he sent an officer to command her within three days to go out of Rome, and to go to Orvieto, (thirty leagues from thence,) and not depart from thence without his leave first obtained : which sentence she made haste

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haste to obey, and, stealing out of Rome in the night for fear of the people, whose rage she had great reason to apprehend, she lodged within two leagues of the city, and then prosecuted her journey to Orvieto; the preparing her process in Rome, and the examination of witnesses in order thereunto, being proceeded in with the same vigour.

His conduct towards the Emperor of Germany, and King of France.

The carriage of the Pope towards the two Crowns was with visible impartiality, nor did either of them except against it. It had been one of the popular discourses to which he had long accustomed himself, especially during the time of his Nunciature, that it was an abominable thing that all the Princes of Christendom did not unite to compel the two Crowns to a peace, and he seemed to think that the Pope himself did not enough do his duty towards it. He knew well the Pope had wished it much, and performed those offices which, if they had not an aversion, could not but dispose them to it; but that in such a case, where Christianity was so much concerned, and underwent so much reproach and scandal by it, he thought the Pope ought to speak plainer language, and even to threaten both Kings with the censure of the Church; and as soon as he was Pope he sent a Nuncio to each Crown, charged only with motives to the peace. In Germany he had talked aloud, how infamous a thing it was to all Christian Princes, that, after they had looked on and seen a great King murdered in the sight of the sun by his own subjects, and his posterity forced to seek their bread in foreign countries, (a case in which all the Monarchs of the world were concerned, and ought to revenge, till they had rooted out that cursed race of men from the earth,) they yet intended their own
unne-

unnecessary and impertinent quarrels, and, out of the gaiety of their humour, cared not for offending God or man. So that, when the news came of his being mounted into that Chair, many of the German Princes (the King being then at Cologne) sent to congratulate with his Majesty for his promotion, which they said would infallibly produce some notable advantage to his affairs. But his Nuncios did no more towards a peace than the former had done; nor after a little time was he warmer in it than his predecessor had been; and Cardinal Mazarin slighted more whatsoever was proposed by him. That Cardinal, during his retreat from France in the time of the troubles, had reposed himself at Cologne, and in a house of that Elector's near the city, and so had some conferences with the Nuncio, who, not being well satisfied with the Cardinal's discourse, did afterwards declare before many persons, that it was Cardinal Mazarin's fault that there was no peace, nor would there be any as long as he continued in that ministry; which discourse Mazarin never forgave him after he was Pope, and was the less moved by his interposition.

There was another great action that he attempted, and brought to pass, which was thought most difficult, and is an unparalleled instance of the great authority that the fame of his abilities had given him; which was, the reversal of that famous decree against the Jesuits by the Senate of Venice, which had been so often urged by several Popes, and as often rejected, without so much as suffering it to be proposed; yet he so ordered it, upon his first ascending the Chair, after two Popes who had not been so propitious to that Republic, that as nobody durst advise it, so nobody

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He obtains the reversal of the Venetian decree against the Jesuits, and condemns the Jansenists.

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body would oppose it; and so it being pressed by his Nuncio, the decree was silently reversed. Whatsoever his care was of that Society, theirs was not the like of him; for, having the full ascendant over him, they prevailed with him to renew and confirm the decree that his predecessor Innocent had published against the Jansenists, (besides some new clauses, that required their immediate conformity,) and likewise to write to the King to require their obedience by his authority; which made the affront he underwent the more notorious, that the decree of two Popes successively *in cathedrâ*, and in matter of faith, could not gain belief amongst Catholics.

Invites his
relations to
Rome.

It began now to appear, that Alexander had not laid in a stock of constancy and virtue that would last above a year, and that he began to be weary of being so unlike other Popes; for that term was no sooner expired, but that he took all occasions to speak of his kindred as persons of merit, and to mention the respects which had been paid to them upon his elevation as somewhat with which he was well pleased, and gave order more publicly for returning good sums of money to them at Sienna, (which he had formerly done with reservation both in the manner and the proportion,) at which nobody was offended, but thought he did well. This gave occasion to many who would be good courtiers to administer some discourse of them; and to tell the Pope, that it was generally much wondered at that they came not to Rome, where they might be an ease and comfort to him, without any of those inconveniences which had in other times given occasion of offence; their own virtuous tempers and inclinations, in which they said they were eminent, together with the strict discipline

discipline observed in the court of His Holiness, CHAP.
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with his example, and the indefatigable pains he took in his own person for the dispatch of all important affairs, would restrain them within the bounds which he thought fit to prescribe to them, and which their modesty would not exceed; but that the restraining them from coming to Rome, a place to which all the world had liberty to resort, was against the law of nature, and that common justice that ought to be the rule of all good men's actions; that he deprived himself of the greatest comfort that nature had provided for him, in making those of his nearest blood, who were so qualified that they might be great blessings to him, the only strangers to him; and deprived them of the benefit that nature had given them, to be in the presence and under the protection of their nearest parent; from both which severe and unusual proceedings the world must conclude one or two propositions, either that he was a person of a very hard and ill nature, and without any bowels to his own nearest relations, which was not a good character of the universal Father, nor agreeable to that excellent temper God had endowed him with for the good of Christianity; or that they were an infamous people, given up to the practice of all vice, that must render his relation to them uncomfortable and injurious, which must inevitably produce such dishonourable reflections upon their persons and their manners, as the most implacable enemies could raise; which could not but in a degree reflect likewise upon His Holiness, at least upon his misfortune, from which God had entirely preserved him, and, instead thereof, had conferred blessings upon him, which all other men would be

CHAP. IX. exalted with, and he rejected: and then they told him, that it was against all rules of justice, that his family only, which before had the liberty of all other men, to live where they had most mind to do, at least to go to what place they would, must be banished Rome because they had a brother and an uncle that was Pope; so that the greatest honour that any other family was capable of must be the greatest mortification that his could undergo.

Proceed-
ings to-
wards their
reception.

When these discourses had been often made to him by many of those Cardinals and others who best knew how to make their court, he could not deny but that he found that nature was more powerful in him than he conceived it could ever have been; that the very good report he heard from all hands of his brother, whom he always knew to be a man of honour and exemplary virtue, and the good education he had given his sons, who he heard were very hopeful, and without any notable vice, and the humility with which they had all submitted to his commands, though it could not but be very grievous to them, had so much affected him, that he confessed he had a good mind to see them, and enjoy their conversation in some private place out of Rome, though it were limited to three or four days; which yet he foresaw would raise much discourse, as if he had receded from his former resolution, which he had heard had been very grateful to all foreign Princes when it had been imparted to them, and therefore he had no intention to change that purpose. They who knew his mind best took care that he should not rest in those thoughts, which were so uneasy and unpleasant to him; and, for his better satisfaction, prevailed with some ambassadors to

move

move him plainly to the same purpose, and to assure him that the calling those of his family to Rome had been long expected, and would be very grateful to all Princes ; that it was true, that his first declaration of that purpose was very agreeable to all men, both for the rarity of it, and upon the observation that before the Popes themselves understood well their own province, their nephews, who were utterly ignorant before, possessed themselves and engrossed all business, and introduced corruptions by their ignorance and covetousness, that could never be removed or reformed ; and therefore that they were all pleased to hear that His Holiness would have nobody about him in that capacity or relation, but would govern his affairs entirely by his own prudence, and not suffer any body to pretend to understand them better than he did himself, which he had now made good by his unwearied pains, and so much made himself master of all business, that he could well govern his nephews, and could never be suspected to be governed by them, which was the cause of all the former mischiefs : and he having now attained his end, all men would be glad to see him draw his kindred to him, to whom they would bring ease and comfort, and could bring no incommmodity to any body else under his prudent and pious government and direction. Nor were some ambassadors reserved in performing those offices, who well knew that their masters would be best pleased to see him do any thing that might draw reproach and contempt upon him. That which troubled him most was, the vow that he had made with the privy, if not the advice, of his Confessor, which was no secret, that he would not suffer his kindred to come to Rome, which his Confessor had

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CHAP. IX. published for his honour in a very voluminous book, with such immense commendation of his piety and wisdom in the making that vow, that you may easily see that he was not without some pride in being thought to be the author of it; and this far was already printed before these new pauses appeared. But he had the same Confessor still, whom he had since made a Cardinal, and who was the ablest and the fittest man living to untie those knots, which he had tied himself, when they grew uneasy or unpleasant to the person that was bound; and so he extols him at the end of his book (his Answer to the History of the Council of Trent) for having done that which in the beginning he had magnified him for resolving so solemnly never to do.

The Pope
evades his
oath by
going to
Castel
Gandolfo.

It may administer some cause of wonder, that, to disentangle himself from this obligation, by the same powerful antidote which he so willingly and frequently prescribes to others in the same distempers and inquietudes, he did not, out of the plenitude of his power, absolve himself from performing the rash promise he had made, and dispense with the observation of his unreasonable vow; which would have been a thousand times more agreeable to his dignity than the mean and the low evasion that he stooped to, which no casuists can allow. The vow and resolution that he had made, if the same was ever reduced into words, was, that his kindred and family should not come to him to Rome, and the evasion that was found out between him and his Confessor was, that, instead of their coming to him to Rome, he would go to them to Castel Gandolfo; and this only to comply with his natural affections, and not at all to depart from his politic declaration; for

for he would never permit them to come to Rome, where only they could do that mischief which he had been so careful to prevent: and so, in that season of the year wherein it was customary to refresh himself in that air, and for the same reason to reside there for many months, he was well content that his brother, and the rest of his family, should find themselves there, where they were sure to receive that respect from all men that they could wish; and they could not be without that civility and address to those Cardinals, and other persons of the highest and best condition, who every day resorted to that Court, that might make them acceptable: and when the delight the Pope took in them was so apparent, who would be so dull as not to discover some virtue or good quality in them, as might give them occasion to congratulate with the Pope for the great merit they found in all the several branches of his family, which must be so great a comfort to him? So that when the jolly season was over, and it was necessary to return to Rome, which gave the occasion of discourse of their return to Sienna, the whole Court put itself into a grateful mutiny; and they who knew well that they might assume the boldness, told the Pope, that he had done much better if he had never vouchsafed this honour to his family, than now to deprive them of it again; as if he had discovered such defects in them as rendered them unfit to remain in his presence; whereas, in truth, their extraordinary good qualities and qualifications had made so deep impressions upon the minds of all men, that the not permitting them now to go to Rome was not a greater affront to them than to his whole Court, and to the ambassadors, who had all

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CHAP. IX. expressed the wonderful satisfaction they had received in their parts and in their manners. But he said this would publish an inconstancy and mutability to be in his nature, which would make all his future actions to be suspected ; whereas he was sure he was still the same, and had the same firm resolutions for the public that he had at the beginning professed to have, and was as resolved that his kindred should not have any part in the managery of the public, or his own more private affairs. At last he suffered himself to be prevailed upon, that they might have the same liberty that all other persons of all other nations enjoyed to live in Rome, but they should not pretend to meddle in any business, they should not be admitted to come into his presence, or so much as to repair to the Court: and upon this new ridiculous declaration, the Court no sooner returned to Rome, than the family (with great modesty, as incognita, and with great care not to be discovered or taken notice of,) repaired to those private habitations which were provided for them.

Enriches
his family.

But this mask was too strait for the face, and kept all that air from it that it delighted in, and therefore it was quickly now pulled off. Such jewels were too bright to be longer concealed under a little rubbish ; it was no sooner known or whispered (for whispers sometimes make a great noise) that they were somewhere in Rome, at how great a distance soever from the Court, but their retreat was with some industry found out. The Ambassadors, the Cardinals, the Princes repaired to them with the same respect that had been always paid, and therefore now conceived to be due to the family of the Pope ; and the magistrates of the town repaired to them with the same adoration

adoration as if they had been received into the palace; and their refusal to receive those addresses served the more to set off their lustre. At last, since it could be no longer deferred, they came all solemnly to the Court, and the Pope received them with open arms. Don Mario, his brother, was forthwith Governor of Rome, one nephew made General of the Church, another Admiral of the Gallies; his most beloved nephew was created Cardinal Nepote, with all the advantages and perquisites that belonged thereunto. There was no single branch of the family that did not presently receive some testimony of the Pope's bounty, and whatsoever fell of all kinds within the donation of the Papacy, was divided or dispersed amongst the kindred; and there never appeared a keener appetite in any Pope to make his family great and rich, than did from this time in Alexander the Seventh. And they, like men who had been kept long fasting, resolved to make a full meal, and as soon as might be to recover the time they had lost; and, as if they had been kept only at Sienna that they might inform themselves of all the arts of the Court of Rome, before they came to practise them, they appeared the first day as learned and as dexterous in the science of rapine, as Donna Olimpia herself, and suffered nothing to escape them that they could lay their hands upon; and Alexander every day grew insensibly into as great a doting as Innocent had done, with so much more evidence, that he took all occasions to appear more sensible of any neglect that was offered to any of his kindred, and to resent any affront that their own insolence had drawn upon themselves. Donna Olimpia had by this time redeemed herself from farther vexation by dying, whilst

CHAP. IX. whilst she was confined to Orvieto, which, though it secured her person from farther prosecution, was believed would not have preserved her fortune from such a seizure or forfeiture, as the many witnesses who had been examined, and the foul actions which were proved, would make it liable to. But the Pope now discerned who might be hereafter concerned, if too rigorous an inquiry should be made into the estates which should be left to the heirs of Popes, and how the same were gotten; and so the prosecution upon that process proceeded no farther, and whatsoever had been grievous to the people under the griping hands of Donna Olimpia, or the more extended reach of the Barberinis, was now forgotten under the illimited government of the Chigis; whose empire was so much the more grievous and odious, by how much they added a greater insolence in their behaviour towards all men, and exercised their tyranny in oppressions and exactions with a greater *fasto* and ostentation than their predecessors had done.

Partiality
of the Pa-
pal Court
to Spain.

And now that impartial temper that seemed to be so equally divided between the two Crowns made itself appear more notable. The Spaniard, that does not naturally walk so fast and so steadily in the dark, as soon as he sees the candle lighted, commonly proves the best chapman; and it was scarce sooner known that there was a Cardinal Nepote, than that he was of the Spanish faction. The truth is, Cardinal Mazarin had provoked the Pope too unnecessarily, and a little too wantonly, for he had not only refused to allow him any part in the treaty of the peace, or so much as to have a minister there; but when it was concluded between him and Don
Lewis,

Lewis, and the articles were prepared to be signed CHAP.
by both, and the hour appointed for the signature, IX.

the Cardinal entered into the room, with a countenance that seemed full of trouble and irresolution; which Don Lewis observing, and asking what the matter was, he answered, in a sad tone, that he was very sorry they had lost so much time, for that he must not, durst not sign the treaty. Don Lewis stood amazed, imagining that he had in that instant received some contrary orders from the French court, when the Cardinal proceeded, "Alas, Sir, " (said he,) you and I are Catholics; and whatever " you dare do, it can never become me, who am a " Cardinal, to declare against the Pope's infallibility: " he hath publicly professed and declared, that he " knows that there will be no peace; and shall you " make the Pope to be fallible? It must not be."

Don Lewis was glad to find that there was no other obstacle, and the company was very merry at the obstruction, and the peace was signed. And when the news thereof was brought to Rome, the Pope laughed, and said, he knew the Cardinal too well to believe it possible. But when it was so much confirmed by the letters from all places that there remained no more room for doubt, and when he was informed of the pleasant humour of the Cardinal in the conclusion of it, at his charge, he could not conceal his indignation, nor hear the name of Cardinal Mazarin without some commotion, even to the hour of his death. But he was now dead, which it may be had disposed the Pope to hope better of the good correspondence of that Crown, which he could not but set the greater value upon, by the notorious declension of the puissance of the Spanish monarchy,
and

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and the probability of its falling lower by the age and weakness of that King, and the infancy of his heir, with many other ill symptoms in that Court; and therefore it cannot be doubted, but that he much desired the protection of France against all contingencies, though his affection was stronger for Spain. But the good Cardinal, who understood that mystery to the bottom, had faithfully instructed his Master what kind of respect he was to pay to the Holy Chair, and what was the way to preserve his own dignity.

Duke of
Créquy
Ambassa-
dor from
France to
Rome.

That the King might the better express the esteem he had for the Pope, he made choice of one of the greatest subjects he had, the Duke of Créquy, a Duke and Peer of France, (which is the highest qualification but that of Prince of the blood,) and sent him his Extraordinary Ambassador to Rome, with so great an éclat in attendance, equipage, and servants, that the like had not been seen before; and the Pope received him with as extraordinary a countenance of respect, and wrote his acknowledgment to the King for the honour he had done him in the quality and merit of his Ambassador. Many men were then of opinion, that it was a sign the King did not much care how his affairs succeeded in that Court, when he made choice of that Ambassador to cultivate them. For the Duke was known to be a man of little experience, and utterly unacquainted with civil transactions, and the forms of business; of a martial education, a rough nature, and the proudest man alive; jealous that respect enough was not paid to him, and obstinate in pursuing any disrespect he shewed to others, how unreasonably soever. So that a fitter Ambassador could not be chosen to send to a Court where

where a good intelligence was not desirable. However, the prudence and great wariness in the Pope's nature, whilst he was to treat only with himself, prevented all inconveniences which might have proceeded from the uneven temper of the Ambassador; and the Pope contented himself with denying, or not granting, what the other did most impetuously propose; but as soon as a Cardinal Nephew began to reign, the fire was quickly kindled.

The French Ambassador would not consider what all the other Ambassadors did; he would have no rules prescribed to him, but by his own Master; and thought it was due both to the quality of his own person, and to his character, that these new comers should perform the first visits. They, on the other hand, thought that there was not the less respect due to them, because they had not come a year sooner to the town to receive it; and believed that they might justly expect the same honour to be paid to them which they of the same relations to former Popes had received, and which all other Ambassadors at this time very willingly performed towards them; and the Pope thought so too, and did not conceal what he thought of the Duke of Créquy. Besides a Cardinal Nephew, who could put a stop to all business that had been begun before, there were brothers and sisters, and other nephews, who required the same applications; and all parties concerned talked aloud of their motives, and of the injuries they underwent, appealing to the company who were in the right; so that Rome, which is not naturally favourable to the favourite, was made the judge; and all the conflux of nations agitated and debated the quarrel according to their several inclinations; which so much exasperated

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Animosities between the Pope's family and the French Ambassador.

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perated all, that, when the King of France determined the point, by ordering his Ambassador to perform all those ceremonies towards the Pope's kindred which had been usual, the visits were made on one side, and received and returned on the other side, with such a coldness and aversion, and such visible dislikes, as administered more arguments for discourse and matter of animosity than had been before. In the streets, as they passed by each other, in the places where they accidentally met, there were looks, and motions, and dumb shews, which in the Roman cipher signify all the reproaches, affronts, and indignities that any words can express. The servants of the house, and all the French nation, (which is very numerous always in Rome, and abounds in persons of quality,) when they met the train or associates of those of the family, by their negligent gestures towards each other, and the like aspects from the contrary party, gave manifest evidences that there was no good will between them, and that both desired a good opportunity to speak a plainer language.

Affray in
the streets
of Rome.

The several inclinations being a long time thus prepared and disposed, and the accidents of every day contributing somewhat to the bitterness; it happened one day that the Duchess of Créquy, who, according to the style of Italy, was called Madame l'Ambasciatrice, passed through the streets with her usual equipage and attendance, when some part of that troop of guards of the Pope, that is called the Corsican, (being soldiers levied out of the isle of Corsica,) were in the way, probably by design; and after some reviling words between them and the French lacqueys, (the usual prefaces amongst such people to whet

whet each other's courage,) they fell to blows, and the Corsican guards having the advantage of weapons, discharged their fire arms upon the other, hurt many, shot several bullets into and through the coach where the Duchess herself was, and killed one of her pages dead upon the place; and she, in the disorder she might very well be in, made what haste she could through that multitude of people, which upon those occasions usually flock together, to her own house. All the French about the town repaired thither to offer their service, and the Ambassador retained them there as a guard, shut up his doors, and seemed to fortify some places which might with more ease be forced, and prepared all things which a man could do that expected an assassination.

How well pleased soever others might be, there could be no doubt but that the Pope himself was exceedingly surprised with the accident, and confounded with the consequences that he foresaw might attend it. For prevention, he sent immediately the same evening the Cardinal Nephew in person to wait upon the Ambassador and Madame, to express the deep sense His Holiness as well as himself had of the barbarous outrage that had been committed, and to assure them that the strictest orders were given to discover and to apprehend the malefactors, who should speedily undergo the most exemplary punishment; with all such other expressions as the most injured persons could look for from an ordinary adversary. But the gates were shut, and neither this visit or excuse would be admitted; and the Ambassador's house stood to their arms that night, and he sent an express at the same time into France, to inform the King of the barbarous affront he had received. The Pope

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Conduct of
the Pope
and the
Ambassa-
dor there-
upon.

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Pope (who well knew that the fierce and unpolished nature of the Ambassador was not like to make a more favourable representation than the matter deserved) lost no time, but dispatched likewise an express the same night to Paris to his Nuncio, with a letter to the King, and with as great submission of words as could be used from an inferior to a man whom he feared to offend: but his messenger made not so much haste as the other by two days. The night pacified not the Ambassador's rage, but the next morning he pursued the same care for the fortifying his house, provided a great stock of arms and ammunition, which he caused to be brought in hourly; he entertained and listed all such soldiers as offered themselves, and contracted with officers to make levies, and advanced money to them to that purpose; and there wanted not gentlemen of all nations then in Rome, for their pleasure or retreat, who made large offers what service they would do, and (which admits some degree of wonder, and may be thought a shrewd evidence that the government itself was not in a full adoration) many of the Roman Barons, and others under the highest qualifications, did not only repair to the Ambassador, and offer their service to him, but publicly in all places maintained his cause, and spoke with all bitterness of the nephews, as if they were the patrons of the assassination.

The Pope, afflicted and cast down when he heard of the levies made by the Ambassador, sent again to him, to let him know how much anguish of mind he sustained, to hear that he had entertained any apprehension or doubt of the security of his person or of his family, which were in as much safety in Rome as himself; and if he did conceive that he
stood

stood in need of any guard, he would send him such a one as he should approve; and doubted not that he had given his most Christian Majesty such an account of the misfortune, and so full an offer of all the satisfaction and reparation which himself would require, as would be acceptable to him. To all this the Ambassador made no answer, but within few days, with his whole family and train, left the town, and stayed no where till he arrived in the dominions of the Duke of Florence. And of all this, and what he had done to the Ambassador, with what he had offered to the most Christian King, the Pope made so full a relation in the Consistory, and with such expressions, that every body might discern the disturbance he was in, and desired the Cardinals that they would give him counsel what he should do more; whilst the Cardinal Nephew was not reserved in declaring that he had done too much.

The exact relation of this whole affair hath been so fully communicated to all the world, and the accident itself was so late, and the transactions upon it so generally known, that I should totally decline the mention of any particulars which are to my purpose, no otherwise than that all men, upon the observation thereof, may seriously consider whether it be possible that the proceeding hereupon (how proportionable soever to the affront and indignity that had been offered) could be prosecuted in that manner by a Prince and people who do in their hearts believe that the Pope is the Universal Bishop of their souls, and hath power from Christ to deprive them of heaven, or do indeed think him to have the least jurisdiction over them, be it temporal or spiritual.

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The King
of France
orders the
Pope's
Nuncio to
quit Paris.

As soon as the King received the first account from the Ambassador of the injury he had sustained, after a consultation with the Council, he sent the same day the Comte of Brienne to the Pope's Nuncio, (who, by the way, is Nuncio of the Apostolic See as well as of the present Pope, so that his office is not determined by the vacancy of the Chair,) to command him from the King that he should the next morning depart from Paris to Meaux, and not stir from thence until he should receive new orders. His Majesty sent him word that he had enjoined this for his safety, lest he should receive the same treatment that his Ambassador had received at Rome. The Nuncio understood nothing of it, and went the same night to St. Germain's, and conferred with the Secretary of State, and desired to be admitted to the presence of the King, which he could not obtain, but used many arguments of weight, that the King would vouchsafe to expect a more perfect account of what had passed at Rome, which he could not be long without, before he would resolve to put such a discountenance upon the Sacred Chair; and declared likewise, that he could not submit to such a relegation without the pleasure of His Holiness. The next morning he made a new attempt to procure an audience of the King, who positively refused to see him; and Monsieur le Tellier assured him that the King would not alter his mind, and expected a present obedience from him to his former orders. When the Nuncio rose the next morning, he found there was a troop of the King's guards of musketeers, that was placed at all the avenues that led to his lodging, and hindered all persons from repairing to him. This

This unheard of treatment made him resolve to quit Paris; and yet, that he might seem to insist upon some privilege, instead of going to Meaux he went to St. Denys, where the guard likewise attended him. In this time the Pope's express arrived, and brought the relation of all that had then passed, with a letter from the Pope to the King, another to Monsieur de Lionne, (in whose friendship His Holiness had much confidence, having owed his promotion to the Pontificate to his kindness,) who was at that time Ambassador in Rome, and took upon him to have contributed very much to his election. The Nuncio, as soon as he received this packet, sent it to Monsieur de Lionne, who immediately presented it to the King, who, upon reading the Pope's brief or letter to him, seemed somewhat to recede from the passion he had been in; and His Holiness having offered to give him all the reparation he would please to demand, all men began to think there would be a fair composition of the contest. Then arrived the second express from the Ambassador, by a servant of his, who informed the King of many particulars which had passed, and that the Ambassador had found that he could not stay longer in Rome with any safety, and had therefore removed with his whole family to Quirino, a town within the dominions of the Great Duke, where he waited to receive the signification of his Majesty's farther pleasure.

This again made the King resume all the resentment and indignation which he had been inclined to restrain; and he presently sent to the Nuncio to require him the very next morning to begin his journey out of France, without staying or resting one day whilst he remained in the kingdom. The guard

The Nuncio sent out of France.

CHAP. of fifty musketeers attended him, five and twenty rid
 IX. before his coach, and five and twenty after, who kept all persons from speaking with him; nor would they suffer him to make his journey in the common roads, or through the great towns, but carried him through by-ways, and made him travel ten leagues a day for ten days together; at the end whereof he found himself in Savoy, and there rested till he could send to Rome an account of his peregrination.

The King
 takes pos-
 session of
 Avignon.

The King pursued his point, and gave present orders for his troops which were nearest to prepare to march into Italy; and sent both to the King of Spain, and to the Duke of Savoy, for leave that his army might march through their territories into the Ecclesiastical State, which they both granted without any hesitation. He disposed the city of Avignon to put themselves into his protection, and to turn out the Vice-Legate and all the Italian garrison, and to depend on him for their security; who immediately seized upon that whole province, which had been of right longer in the possession of the Church than Languedoc, or Provence, or Dauphiné had been united to the Crown of France. In a word, he did all things which might make him terrible to the poor Pope. The first letter the King wrote to the Pope, after a short and passionate mention of the indignity offered to his person in the foul assassination that had been attempted against the Ambassador and his wife, he concluded in these words; "I demand nothing of Your Holiness in this particular affair; for, for a long time you have assumed such a custom of denying me every thing I ask, and you have expressed so much aversion for every thing which regards my person and my Crown, that I think it
 " will

“ will be better to remit the resolutions upon this af- CHAP.
 “ fair to your prudence, upon which I will also take IX.
 “ and regulate mine ; wishing only that yours may
 “ be such, that they may oblige me to continue to
 “ pray to God that he will preserve Your Holiness
 “ in the government of his Church.” And, that the
 Pope might discern that his Majesty did resolve not
 to acquiesce in his judgment alone, and intended to
 stir up his own Court against him, he wrote several
 letters to the Cardinals, in which he made a short
 reflection upon the odious outrage that had been
 committed, and concluded in these words : “ If your
 “ good offices cannot work any thing, after having
 “ used my utmost diligence, as I have done, I shall
 “ not much care for those evil and bad consequences
 “ which this affair may draw after it, protesting that I
 “ ought to be fully excused before God and man for
 “ whatever may arrive hereupon.”

The Pope used all the ways he could devise, by Mediation
of the Duke
of Florence. the mediation of the Duke of Florence, and other in-
 stances, to soften the King's displeasure; yet the dis-
 covery of the people's affections in Rome upon that
 accident had been so notorious amongst persons of the
 first rank, that the Pope or his nephews gave order
 for the prosecution of many of those who had been so
 hardy, by the common rules of justice; whereupon
 some of them retired out of Rome, or with great care
 concealed themselves there. The King did not think
 that he ought to suffer those spirits to be dejected of
 which he might have farther need, and therefore em-
 ployed fit persons privately to let them know that he
 had been well informed of the kindness they had for
 him, and that they should never suffer by it; and
 his Majesty writ a letter with his own hand to the

CHAP. IX. Duke of Cesarino, in which he told him that his Ambassador had given him a full account of the great expressions which he had made of affection to his Majesty, upon the occasion of that barbarous insult that had been made upon his Ambassador, of which he had so great a sense, that his Majesty assured him he would never forget ; and if any damage should befall him, from what power soever, for that manifestation of his affection, he should find his Majesty's care of him to be such, that he should be a gainer by it.

Letters of
Queen
Christina to
the King of
France.

During these transactions the Queen Christina of Sweden, who then resided at Rome, and naturally was disposed to have a hand in any business, had written a letter to the King, in which she condoled upon the late accident which had fallen out, with all the terms of aggravation that can be applied to make any outrageous action the more odious and infamous ; concluding only with the deep sense His Holiness had of it, as if she seemed to apprehend that it would break his heart ; and within few days after she wrote a second letter to him, for which the first seemed only to be an introduction, in which she advised him not to suffer himself to be so transported with a just indignation as to give himself leave to do any thing that might grieve the Holy Father, much less that might discredit Catholic Religion, and raise the spirits of the heretics, by their seeing the eldest son of the Church bring contempt and dishonour upon the Holy Chair. Upon the occasion of this letter, the King found an opportunity to express his sharp displeasure against the family of the Pope ; which he could not seasonably do before, other than in discourses, of which little was known at Rome ;
and,

and, after he had answered to several other parts of her letter, he said, that he was certain her Majesty would acknowledge unto him, that if the Pope could have persisted until that time in that resolution, that gained him so great glory in the first year of his Pontificate, of abolishing and annihilating that which they call *Nepotismo* in this country, which sucks the purest blood of the subjects of the Ecclesiastical State, and the whole patrimony of St. Peter, to fatten one family alone, (which on this account is always odious to Catholics, and gives Heretics occasion to be scandalized at it,) they would not have attacked the person of his Ambassador; and he should not have been necessitated, as he was now, to revenge this affront upon the authors of it. If His Holiness had by his prudence and justice done him reason during the time that he himself governed his Pontificate, his Majesty said, it would not have been any difficult thing for them to have entertained a good correspondence together; but since he had called his kinsmen near him, drawing them out of that condition wherein God had placed them, to put into their hands the government and direction of all affairs, neither his Majesty, nor any other Prince, had any other subject than that of complaining of the evil proceedings of the Roman Court, where they had received nothing but displeasures, denials, and discontents. His Majesty asked the Queen, whether she could imagine that they, who governed at Rome under her Holy Father, who had scarce ever seen the light, and who are besotted and drunken with an empty and short lived authority, for which they were never born, did so much as know that there are other powers out of their country equal to theirs, and to the which they

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CHAP. IX. owe all sort of respect. The King concluded his letter with these words ; “ These thoughts and these effects of the Pope’s kindred do proceed from a low and pitiful birth and condition, which, having once got the command into its hand, disdains all persons of merit, and looks upon it as a small thing to put the whole world into confusion ;” and used some other expressions of displeasure, which enough declared, that he resolved to take revenge upon the persons who had been the authors of the affront with his sword.

Mediation
of the Duke
of Florence
ineffectual.

There did not appear, upon any examination that had been taken, or the least evidence that was alleged, that any of the Pope’s family had been accessory or privy to the insult made by the Corsican Guard ; and Don Mario had before this time given over the government of Rome to the Cardinal Imperiale, who then exercised it : yet the King wholly imputed it to them, and from thence took occasion always to mention them with the lowest contempt. So, in a relation that he caused to be published of the whole matter of fact, he said, that the Nephews of the Pope had wholly chased away all humility, and banished it from their dwellings, that they might introduce in its stead pride and haughtiness ; and, according to the ordinary custom of poor become rich, can by no means suffer any persons who will not submit to them : and this kind of bitterness affected and grieved the Pope more than all the King’s menaces and threats, for he knew not how to take notice of it, or to suffer any thing in their vindication without giving new offence and advantage to the King, as if he would support them against his Majesty. The Duke of Florence (who sufficiently manifested the sense he had

had of the villany that had been committed, and of the King's just cause of displeasure, yet had no de-
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 sire to see a French army in Italy) prevailed that the King would appoint some person to treat upon the reparation he expected; and the King would appoint no man to debate the accommodation but him who had been first offended and provoked, the Duke of Créquy himself, who remained still at Quirino; and, though it seemed an ill augury towards peace, the Cardinal Chigi sent the Abbot Rospigliosi with a letter of credit to the Ambassador; in which he told him, that he was informed that his most Christian Majesty had, upon the interposition of the Ambassador of Florence, given his Excellence power to treat of the satisfaction that his Majesty expected, for the insult that had been made by the Corsican Guard; and to that purpose he had sent the Abbot Rospigliosi to confer with him, and to know what the King proposed, which he presumed would be what was agreeable to the affection of the eldest son of the Church, and suitable to the dignity of the Sacred Chair. When the Duke found that the Abbot had no other commission than the letter from the Cardinal, he wrote another letter to the Cardinal, under the same style of Excellence as he had received from him, and told him, that since the Abbot had brought no commission from the Pope, whereby he had authority to consent to what should be proposed by the King, he had nothing to say to him; and so the Duke prosecuted his journey to Paris, and the Abbot returned to Rome.

The Pope had sometimes a resolution, upon his observation that all the approaches he had made, and the condescensions he had offered towards the King,
The Pope sends a Minister to France.
 had

CHAP. IX. had but drawn new contempt and reproaches upon himself, that he would acquiesce in the tranquillity of his own innocence, and in the conscience of having performed all that was to be done on his part, and leave the King to prosecute his own passions in his own way; and presumed, that if they were contained within no bounds of moderation, not only all the Princes of Italy would, for their own sakes, stop any forces from entering Italy, but all other Catholic Princes would resent his proceedings; yet he found nobody of his mind but those who would not suffer themselves to appear to be so. The Cardinals in general seemed to be so full of the sense of the affront, indignity, and injury the King of France had sustained, that he could not complain too loudly of it, nor ask too great a reparation; and that His Holiness ought to consent to all that he demanded. Hereupon his spirits sunk again, and he resolved to send Monseigneur Rasponi, a man of the first rank under the Cardinals, and most trusted by him in his secret affairs, with a full commission to give the King satisfaction in all he required; and, for avoiding all delays, which the King complained of, and thought the Pope affected, he should go into France, and treat with any persons his Majesty should appoint; of all which notice was sent to the King, and that he would stay at Lyons to expect his commands; whereupon the Duke of Créquy was again dispatched to meet him, and with a light train in few days by post found himself at Lyons.

Negocia-
tion be-
tween Ras-
poni and
the Duke of
Créquy.

When the Duke arrived there, he found Monseigneur Rasponi in the garb and posture of Legate à Latere, and that he expected precedence, and very many other privileges, which the Duke would by no means yield

yield to him, nor would the magistrates of the town take notice of him under that character. The Duke told him, that it was a great incongruity that the Pope should imagine, that after an extraordinary Ambassador of his most Christian Majesty had been forced for his security, and after so unheard of an injury, to go out of Rome, and the dominions of the Church, (of which his Majesty had declared his resentment by sending the Nuncio under a guard out of France,) that, before any acknowledgment and reparation to his Majesty, His Holiness should presume, that a Minister from him, under any such qualification, would be received in that kingdom: therefore he would not enter into treaty with him, nor acknowledge him in any other capacity than of a private person sent from the Pope to offer reparation to the King for the injury that had been done to him. And, as soon as he had given an account of all this to the Court, he received approbation of what he had done, and order not to depart from it. Rasponi found that the Duke would not recede a tittle, and spoke of nothing but returning to Paris; and, knowing well the impatience his own Master had to lay this controversy asleep, proposed that he would send an express to Rome, and then he would depart out of France to some town on the confines of Savoy, where, being discharged of his function of Legate, they might proceed in the treaty. This was accepted, and the Duke went to the same place; and, when the Duke's stern nature could not be prevailed upon to waste the time in compliments, but pressed dispatch, as if he knew his Master was impatient to be doing, they fell into the business, and Rasponi made some propositions of giving such acknowledgment and satisfaction

CHAP. IX. IX. tisfaction to the King for the indignity he had sustained, and such reparation to the Ambassador and his Lady for the affront they had suffered, as sufficiently manifested that they would not boggle at making any farther condescensions of that nature that should be demanded. But then the Duke said, that he had instructions not to conclude those articles which related to the insult, before the Pope should first consent to the restoring Castro, and all that belonged thereunto, to the Duke of Parma, who was under the King's protection. Rasponi was surprised with this; and said, it could not be imagined that he could be armed with any commission to treat upon an affair that was of so foreign a nature to the matter of his negociation; that he was ready to offer or to submit to what satisfaction could be justly required by reason of that insolence which had been committed in Rome by the Corsican Guard, and which was criminal, and ought to be punished: whereas the other pretence concerning Castro was an old business that had no relation to it, and was of a civil nature, that must be determined by justice: that there had been many Popes since that matter had been debated, and could with no colour of reason be the subject of this treaty, nor had he authority so much as to speak of it. The Duke answered, that the antiquity of it was an argument that it ought the sooner to be made an end of; and the succession of so many Popes, without finishing it, made the injury the more insupportable; that it was agreed by Urban the Eighth, and sworn to by him in the treaty he made with the King, whose honour was engaged to cause it to be executed; and though Urban died before it was performed, the King had still demanded it

it from Innocent and the present Pope, who had both given their promise to see it done; and since they had both failed, and there was now a new occasion of making another treaty with His Holiness, it could not be fit to leave it without mention; and he had positive order to treat of nothing else, till that of Castro was first consented to: and with that declaration the Duke returned immediately to Paris, and Rasponi sent an express to Rome with an account what was become of the treaty, and moved himself toward Piedmont, where he expected further orders from the Pope.

This advertisement put the Pope into the highest passion his constitution was capable of; he presently summoned a private Consistory of those Cardinals who were most trusted by him, complained pitifully of the King's proceedings with him, and declared to them, that he was resolved to sustain the war, let what would fall out; and then he sent for the two Ambassadors of Spain, and of the Republic of Venice, and informed them at large of all that had passed at Lyons and in Savoy; and that, when he was prepared, for the preservation of the peace of Italy, to descend to lower conditions than ought honestly to be demanded of him who had committed no offence, the King had refused now to admit of any proposition towards it till he should first consent to the restitution of Castro to the Duke of Parma, which had no relation to the matter in debate; and with this resolution his Plenipotentiary was returned to Paris: whereupon he declared to them with much vehemence, that before he would so much prostitute his honour, or consent to that which would be so prejudicial to the Church, to which Castro appertained,

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The Pope
resolves
upon war.

CHAP. IX. tained, he would undergo the damage and mischief of the war, though it should be to the loss of Rome itself, with that of his life, and that other Princes should look to their own concerns in it: and it was generally believed that at that time he said no more than he resolved to do.

Venice and
Spain re-
fuse their
support.

The truth is, that the Pope underwent all the degrees of mortification that either his person or his function could be made liable to. When this business first broke out, he sent to the Republic of Venice, which was of the greatest force and strength in Italy, represented to them the spirit and temper of the King of France, his ambition to bring all other Princes to comply and submit to his illimited designs, and proposed to them to enter into a League with him for the defence of Italy. They gravely advised him to consider well the greatness of that King, and rather to give him satisfaction for the injury done to him in the person of his Ambassador, which was, in the judgment of all men, an offence of the greatest magnitude, than to think of contending with him by arms. The Nuncio in Spain, with many wonderful flourishes of rhetoric, and as wonderful promises of the benefit and glory he should reap thereby, invited that King to make himself the protector of the Catholic Church and Religion, to both which His Holiness would declare the King of France to be a public enemy and persecutor; whereupon, and his Catholic Majesty's appearing in the head of that League, all the Princes of Italy would immediately enter into the same League, and all men would desert and forsake the King of France; so that, without any trouble, expence, or hazard, all his designs would be broken, which must redound to the eternal glory of his

his Catholic Majesty: and for the licence that he had given to the French to march through his territories, the Nuncio said, that His Holiness would absolve his Majesty from the observation of that promise; since the same had been made to the prejudice of Religion, and that it would be for the good of Religion that it should not be observed. But the old King liked the peace too well, that he had bought so dear, to part with it for a state of war upon those specious pretences, which were better understood even in the Court of Spain than they had used to be; and therefore the King, instead of embracing the Pope's friendship upon those terms, magnified the power of France, and persuaded His Holiness to make his peace by any concessions his Majesty should impose. But that which troubled him more than all the rest was, that he plainly discerned, that in all Courts there appeared more inclination to the lessening and abasing the Papal power, than to the vindication of it from any dishonour or reproach that the French could inflict upon it: nor were any men less affected on his behalf, or more delighted with what was applied for his humiliation, than the people of all conditions in the city of Rome itself, and within all the lands of the Ecclesiastical State: and, whilst he was in this deep agony, he received certain advertisements that the French troops were already entered into the Duchy of Parma, who received them willingly, and prepared jointly for the enterprise upon Castro as soon as the season should permit.

All things seeming to be in this desperate condition, the Pope encountered a new inquietude within the walls of Rome that added to his uneasiness. The Cardinals who adhered to the interests of the several
Crowns

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The Pope's
submission.

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Crowns repaired to him with one importunity, that since all other particulars had been so well prepared by Rasponi, that there remained no other obstruction of the peace but the matter of Castro, which was not a thing of that moment or value as ought to deprive Italy of so great a blessing, that His Holiness would consent to that article likewise; and when the Cardinals had made this address, all the Ambassadors of Princes successively gave him the same advice. The Pope could hold out no longer, but found ways, through those secret hands which are never wanting in those cases, to make it known, that he was content to yield in the point of Castro, and that he made choice of Pisa in the Duchy of Florence for the Plenipotentiaries to meet in, and to debate and conclude the matter. The King approved the place, but said, he had been too much accustomed to the delays of the Court of Rome, and that he would not therefore send Plenipotentiaries to debate any more, but to conclude, which would be sooner and best done if the articles were first adjusted at Rome and at Paris, and then the Plenipotentiaries might quickly conclude at Pisa. The Pope submitted to this too; but, that he might obtain somewhat, he desired that the French troops might be recalled out of Italy before the treaty should be concluded; which he was told was so much against the King's honour, that no man durst propose it to him.

Treaty of
Pisa,

To say no more, all the articles were consented to by the Pope which were prescribed by the King; the principal of which were, 1st. That the Pope should cause Castro to be delivered, with all that belonged to it, and in the condition it then was, into the hands
and

and possession of the Duke of Parma, who should pay the just debt, which he confessed to be justly owing by him to the Apostolical Chamber: 2. That the Corsican Guard should be for ever banished, not only out of the city of Rome, but likewise out of the whole ecclesiastical State; and that, for the time to come, there shall be no farther use made of the same nation, which should be declared incapable of ever exercising the same employment, which they had for so long time had at Rome, to wit, that of Serjeants; and that they amongst them who had committed the assassination against the person in the coach of the Ambassador's Lady, should be all condemned to be hanged, and that there should be all possible diligence used to take them; and, being taken, that they should be executed, or put into the hands of the Ministers of his most Christian Majesty, to be done with as they should judge convenient: 3. That, for a perpetual memory, there shall be erected a pillar in the city of Rome, in a public place near the place or the street where the coach of the Ambassador's Lady was set upon, or, at least, in the quarter where the Corsican Guard were lodged, with an inscription, to shew the resentment which was conceived for that crime, and the reparation that hath been made unto the King, which pillar shall never be demolished or taken from the place where it shall be planted; and in case any one shall attempt to take it from thence, he shall be convicted of the crime of *lesa Majestas*, and shall be punished as such, and the pillar put into the same place again with the same inscription: 4. That the Cardinal Imperiale shall be obliged to transport himself to Paris, not only to make there a personal reparation, and ask pardon of the King in

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CHAP. IX. his public Council, or in his Parliament, if his Majesty should so direct, but also to give an account of the assassination the Corsican Guard had committed, considering that he was then Governor of Rome; and in the mean time he should be banished from the Ecclesiastical State, and reputed as such, and deprived of all the charges he possessed, in which he should not be again established till his Majesty had written and given advice that he was fully satisfied with him; and that he shall be obliged to acknowledge his return to Rome as a pure grace which his most Christian Majesty had done to him: 5. That the Cardinal Chigi, nephew of His Holiness, shall be declared Legate a Latere, with all the circumstances requisite to such a case, that he may be able to represent the person of the Pope himself, and to transport himself to Paris in that quality, to make an excuse to the King for the Apostolic See, and to declare that it was never the intention of the Pope to give offence unto his Majesty, and that, on the contrary, he had been very much displeased with the enormity of that attempt; and at the same time that the Legate did perform that compliment at Paris, the Duke of Créquy should return to Rome with the same character of Ambassador extraordinary that he had before, and that there should be paid unto him all the honours due to so public a person, and one who represented such a King; that the Pope himself should make him reparation, and testify unto him the displeasure and regret he had for his leaving Rome upon the account of an accident of that nature, which he himself had disapproved and blamed from the beginning: 6. That the Pope may not mortify, under any pretence whatsoever, either directly or indirectly,

directly, any of those who had followed the party of France, either French or Italian; that if there be found any one who of his own accord was gone out of Rome, or had quitted any charge, not being able to behold the ill treatment of the French nation there, it should be permitted to him to return again without quitting his charge, and he should be reinstated in the honours that are due to him; and, in a word, that all the French, of what condition soever they be, shall have free liberty to dwell in Rome, paying unto the Holy See the respect that they owe it, His Holiness promising on his part, that his Ministers shall take greater care for the time to come not to commit any more the like fault.

There were many other articles, which I forbear to insert particularly, because they are of less importance than the forecited, yet including as much of triumph to the French; such as the providing for the discharging of all process that had been made against the Duke of Cæsarino, for any thing he had said or done upon the occasion of the late outrage upon the Ambassador, and for the discharge and cancelling all the like decrees or actions against any of the Romans: they provided for the return of the Cardinal Maldachini to Rome, and to be restored to all his goods, benefices, and privileges; though the censures which had been inflicted upon him had not the least relation to the late affront, but were grounded upon his having departed Rome without the Pope's leave, and when he was prosecuted for several crimes and misdemeanors, all which were hereby discharged, pardoned, and released: provision was likewise made in what place one of the Pope's Nephews should meet the Duke of Créquy, when he returned Ambassador

Further circumstances
of humiliation.

CHAP. IX. to Rome, and where his Nieces should meet the Ambassadress, and the ceremonies which were to be performed; and many such particulars, as would become the greatest and most powerful Prince to exact from the most abject enemy that could have offended him. It was plain that the Pope was so thoroughly broken that he was only solicitous to prevent that his brother Don Mario should not undergo any reproach, from which he preserved him with great difficulty, and that none of his Nephews might be looked upon as guilty of or privy to that assassination; and that being provided for, he cared not what he was condemned to do himself. All this, and somewhat more, was consented to on the Pope's part, for which all that was yielded to by the King was, that when this satisfaction should be given, which was done accordingly, his Majesty would appoint Avignon, and all that belonged thereunto, to be delivered again into the Pope's hand, and his Italian guard, and all his other officers to be received there; yet with this caution and provision, that no man who had contributed to the putting them out, or used them with any reproach, or did them any injury when they were put out, should in the least degree suffer for the same. And so Avignon is again under the Pope's obedience, and his subjects as ready to deliver it up again into the hands of the King of France, when he shall so require them to do.

Remarks
upon the
whole of
this trans-
action, and
the repara-
tion re-
quired by
the King of
France.

It is not the purpose of this discourse to make the least reflection upon the justice of the proceedings of the King of France, as if he had exacted a greater reparation than the injury required; that for the accidental death of the Pages, without any foresight of malice, for aught appeared, the whole form and dignity

dignity of the government should be shaken, and upon the matter dissolved, to make an entire satisfaction ; that for the offence of half a dozen or a dozen Corsicans, a whole nation should be deprived of a privilege they had enjoyed for many ages, and that no subject of the island of Corsica shall be for the time to come permitted to live, not only within the city of Rome, but within the whole Ecclesiastical State; (which is upon the matter a condemnation and judgment upon the most Catholic King, or upon the Republic of Genoa, to whichever of them the immediate subjection of that nation is due;) that the persons of lords and ladies should undergo punishments for the rudeness and barbarity committed by a lewd company of varlets and ruffians; I have none of those reflections : and I do not believe but that the wickedness of the action and attempt was of that magnitude, and so deep a wound to the royalty of a King, that it could not be inquired into or punished with too much severity ; that it might reasonably be presumed, that such an outrage could not have been committed in the noon day, by a band of men listed, known by their names as well or better than any citizen of the town, and that not one of them should be apprehended, or their names be known, without the countenance and protection of the most powerful persons in Rome, or without some connivance from the Government itself. The carriage and behaviour of the Pope's kindred had been such before, that it might well be imagined they had contrived this affront, and they might be held worthy of some mortification, or to be required to perform some more civilities than their own natures disposed them to; in all these respects, a man who knows what is due to

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CHAP. IX. the offended Majesty of a King, cannot believe there was any excess used in the vindication; nor can it be doubted, that if all Kings were equally sensible of the violation of their Majesty, and had proceeded in the same manner for the repairing it, infinite mischiefs, which have fallen out in the Church and State, would have been prevented.

The inconsistency of such reparation with an opinion of the Pope's supremacy.

The question only is, whether they who prosecute this kind of reparation, acknowledgment, and satisfaction, let the offence or provocation be what it will, have in their judgments or affection that reverence and veneration for the sacred person of the Pope, or for the Holy Chair, or the Apostolical Chair, which they seem to be offended with other men for being without: whether they do in truth believe him to have any authority to examine and censure the errors and offences of their consciences, or to have any spiritual jurisdiction for the reformation of their lives; indeed, whether they do think him to have a temporal or a spiritual sovereignty or supremacy, whose person they compelled to make penance, and to ask pardon for an offence that he had never in the judgment of any man been thought guilty of; for all that his Legate said or did was in the person of the Pope, and on his behalf, and was a more literal submission than was made by our Henry the Second for the death of Thomas à Becket, and for which our nation hath blushed so much; nor hath the Universal Bishop ever undergone such a personal reprehension since the time of Boniface the Eighth.

In the next place, and to conclude, (for the disquisition is equally reasonable,) is it credible that this Alexander did in his conscience believe that our Saviour had given him full power and authority to depose

depose Kings, and to deprive them of the fidelity and obedience of their subjects, and that they are all subject to his direction and jurisdiction? Is it possible that he could believe that his spiritual artillery, the thunder and lightning of his excommunications and interdictions, can kill at such a distance, and draw Princes upon their knees to him by the compulsion of their own subjects, and yet would not in his own defence (and to rescue that spiritual authority of binding and loosing, which he had from Christ himself, from being invaded by the arms of a secular and temporal Prince) emit so much as one monitory to cite the King of France to appear upon penalty of an excommunication? There cannot be a greater manifestation that this Pope had himself no such opinion of his own just power, which he would have all other men have; and if he had, he could not be excused in conscience for intermitting it in such an eminent distress upon any politic respect or apprehension; for if he did really think that God had given him that power for the defence and maintenance of his Church and religion, he did not discharge his trust in not applying it, and leaving the effect of it to God; who, if it were a remedy of his own compounding, could enable it to have done what execution he thought fit. But he knew well where the Supremacy remained, and that it was able to enjoin and exact obedience, and that he should gain more upon the generosity of that Prince, by submitting to him, than contesting with him; which he found to be true; for after the pillar had been erected with the very famous inscription, and stood long enough to be viewed by all the world, and can never be forgotten, he prevailed with the most Christian

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CHAP. IX. King, that that yoke of servitude, that lay so heavy upon the neck of the Pontificate, might be and was taken off before the death of himself who had put it on.

The Pope employs the rest of his Pontificate in enriching his family.

And the Pope in the end made himself no loser by all this; for, finding how unfit he was to grasp such an unwieldy power that he was not able to manage, as soon as he was off from this uneasy dispute, he affected no more the exercise of such dangerous negociations, but retired to the sole care of growing rich, that he might leave his family in a condition above ordinary oppression: and this more equal design he was so well qualified to manage and conduct, that, without doing any one action to adorn his memory in the few years he survived this troublesome affair, (which indeed he did not long survive, for the agony of it shortened his life,) he heaped so great a mass of wealth, that though he left the Church in a worse and lower condition than he found it, and his family very little more beloved than Donna Olimpia had been, yet he left it much more secure, and his Nephew in a reputation to stand upon his own feet, to live in great lustre, and to avow and own that implacable malice to France that a good Italian Prelate is obliged in conscience to profess towards those, from whom he conceives that he or his friends have undergone any injury or indignity.

Clement IX. Rospiglioso, his character.

Upon the death of Alexander, in a shorter conclave than, in the factions which were then notorious enough, could be expected, Cardinal Rospiglioso was chosen, and called Clement the Ninth; and was the man most wished, or with whose election very few were displeased. He was a grave man, very well versed in affairs, and of a temper that could not
make

make him enemies; though he gratified nobody against his own judgment, by which he was wholly governed: for though he presently recalled his Nephew, the Abbot Rospiglioso, a young man of good parts, who had been sent by Alexander to be Inter-nuncio at Brussels, and, as soon as he returned, made him Cardinal, yet he kept all the affairs so in his own disposal, that he was not suspected to be swayed by any man. He had been bred up under the Barberinis, and was always grateful to that family. He was sent, by Innocent, Nuncio into Spain, where he had been formerly under him in principal trust during the time of his own Nunciature; and when he came to exercise that function himself, no man had been there before him who received greater reverence from that Court, being a person most unblameable in his life, and of very conformable manners. In the beginning of Alexander's time he was made Cardinal and Secretary of State, and was most entirely trusted in all the secret affairs; but from the time of calling the family to Rome, he became less trusted every day; and though he kept still the title of Secretary of State, few men understood less of the business that passed than he; and towards the end of his life, the Pope had a kind of an aversion from him; yet his gratitude, and the custom of the court of Rome, kept him still to the party and faction of the Chigis; so that though there were some Cardinals who would have been more grateful, yet when Chigi found all factions ready to concur in Rospiglioso, he thought himself safe in him, and so he was made Pope; and during his reign he cherished and confirmed the interest of that family, and gave his own cap to a Nephew of that house.

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IX.

Clement

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His policy
towards
France and
Spain.

Clement without doubt was in his heart more inclined to Spain than to France; yet he knew well the interest and reputation of that Crown to be so low, and the factions in that court to be so high, by the infancy of the King, that he believed he should be able to do more service to it by obtaining credit with France, than by being thought to be impotently addicted to Spain. Sure it is, that his nephew the Abbot, in his return from his Nunciature in Flanders, upon his uncle's promotion, stayed longer at Paris than is usual in those cases, when men make as much haste as they can to receive a preferment that expects them: he had many audiences of the King, and at parting had very great presents; and from that time there was never the least misunderstanding between the King and the Court of Rome; but the Pope gratified his Majesty in whatsoever he desired, and His Majesty professed to have a greater reverence for the person of the Pope than he had ever before for any of his predecessors.

Arrêt of the
King of
France,
prohibiting
all farther
disputes be-
tween the
Jansenists
and Jesuits.

Wherever the condescension was, it was at this time that the cholerick disputes and animosities, which had been so long upon the stage between the Jansenists and the Jesuits, were almost in an instant silenced rather than composed; and what the successive decrees and definitions of two Popes, in matter of faith, could not determine or find submission to amongst Catholics, one single Arrêt from the King, in prohibiting either party either to preach, dispute, or mention either of those points, (which was a suspending, if not cancelling, both the Pontifical decrees,) suppressed finally any farther discourse upon that subject. Nor is there any question but that this proceeding of the King was either advised

or

or desired by the Pope, who had not any resignation to the Jesuits in matters of religion, and who did believe that it was a better expedient towards the quieting those unruly spirits, than the prosecution of any ecclesiastical censures would be that could be applied by him; and it was very worthy the observation, the moderation and meekness of the Jesuits, (who never forgave Clement, or his memory, for that discountenance,) that having, for so many years together, given up all the Jansenists to damnation, as the worst kind of Calvinists, they upon this Arrêt of the King declared, that it was only a litigation upon words, which was best to be determined this way.

No Pope ever gave less offence or umbrage to Christian Princes than this Clement did, or more intended the honour and reputation of the Church, which he endeavoured to improve and advance by mending the manners of the ecclesiastics, which he well knew brought insupportable scandal upon the religion they professed. He did avow to have great affection and kindness for his family, and resolved that they should be the better for him, but not at the Church's charge, which he resolved to dispose to the uses it was designed. When any offices, as abbies and other benefices, became vacant, he conferred them upon his Cardinal Nephew, and others of his family, that they might have such a decent support that they might not be liable to contempt; and all that he promoted them to during his whole reign did not raise them beyond that convenient proportion, without ever giving them opportunity or capacity to render themselves grievous to the people; from whom he took off all the taxes and impositions which

had

CHAP.
IX.

Moderation
of Clement
IX. towards
his own fa-
mily.

CHAP. had supplied the luxury of the former times, and
 IX. continued none but what was necessary to the public, and really expended for the public. He had the happiness to have a brother, Don Camillo, a man of much virtue and severity of manners, who was the father of the Cardinal, and of most of the other branches of his family, and a severe inquisitor into the lives of them all, who were as careful to conceal all their excesses from him, as from the Pope himself: and if this reign had continued long, virtue and piety would have been brought into more request, and vice into more discredit, than it had been in many ages.

The Pope
 relieves
 Candia.

When he first came to the Pontificate, he found the island of Candia (which had been for so many years upon the matter possessed by the Infidels) reduced to so great straits, that there remained only the port, with a small neck of land, which was called the Canea, a fort strong and capable to be relieved, in the hands of the Christians, but besieged by an army of fifty thousand Turks, who had raised such fortifications about the town, that they were as strongly encamped without as the Christians were within; besides which, having the whole island at their devotion, they had thereby plenty of all things they could stand in need of; whereas the besieged had nothing but what was supplied to them by sea, at the sole charge of the Republic of Venice, to whom the dominion of that island appertained, and which had already (to their immortal honour) defended and maintained it against the whole power of the Grand Signior for five or six years, whilst they in vain implored and importuned the several Popes, and other Christian Princes, to assist them in so unequal

equal an enterprise, and in which Christianity was so much concerned. Innocent and Alexander were deaf to those clamours; the raising their families and enriching their kindred was their talent, and engrossed all their thoughts; but Clement came no sooner into the Chair, than he wedded this affair as that which his pastoral charge made incumbent on him, and to which he dedicated, and in truth sacrificed, whatsoever he could raise by or from the Papacy. He first repaired and fitted up all the gallics and other vessels which belonged to the Church, and which had lain so long useless and idle, and sent them under the command of one of his Nephews, who was a Knight of Malta, with all such provisions, and money, and men, which they most stood in need of, and to return to him with such an account of their necessities, the posture they were in for their defence, and the condition of the enemy, that he might be able to judge what would be the most effectual means to give them a full relief: and to that purpose he required the particular information and advice of the Senate, and to assure them of all the assistance his own ability could procure for them, and what by his interposition he could obtain from others, having already made very effectual instance with the most Christian King, to think it a work worthy of his title and greatness to redeem that people from the servitude of their barbarous and cruel persecutors: and if either of his predecessors had been possessed with his zeal, or if he had been Pope in that time when Alexander reigned, it cannot be doubted but that fruitful isle of Candia would at this time have remained a part of Christendom.

Upon

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IX.

Joint expedition of the French and Venetians for the farther relief of Candia.

Upon the return of the gallies from Candia, (after they had delivered the supplies and relief which they had been sent with, and thereby much raised the spirits of the besieged Christians,) the Pope found that the place was in much worse condition than he expected it to have been; that the town was so totally beaten down, and the houses demolished, by the cannon and grenados of the Turks, that they were of no more use to the inhabitants nor soldiers; and that, by the same means, there was not earth enough left for huts or other covering for the soldiers or officers of the garrison; and that if there were a thought of retaining and reestablishing the island, they must resolve once for all to send such a supply of arms, and men, and ships, as might make that impression upon several places of the island, that the garrison might no longer be confined or restrained within the narrow compass of ground of which they were now possessed: of all which when the Pope was informed, he renewed his instance with the King of France, and made it quickly appear how much credit and authority he had with that Prince; for, upon his advice and desire, that great King caused a noble fleet of his gallies and other vessels to be prepared and equipped, and an army of ten thousand men; the fleet under the command of the Duke de Beaufort, Admiral of France, and the land forces under the command of the Duke de Navailles, a commander of great courage and experience. These joined happily with the Pope's gallies, the furnishing and setting out whereof cost all the money he could draw together; and, though not at the precise time agreed upon, the Venetian forces met with them, and they all

all came in safety into the port at the Canea. Within CHAP.
IX.
 the town and forts the Christians were commanded by Morosini, who, being a Senator of Venice, was to have no superior in command, though he had nothing of a soldier but the personal courage in which he abounded, with some extravagancies and licences, which render the greatest faculties of no effect; but he referred the whole ordering the militia, which consisted of all nations, which had been often changed and supplied since the beginning of the siege, to St. André Montbrun, a Frenchman of most eminent conduct, and inferior to none in the opinion of his own nation, if his religion of a Huguenot had not obstructed his having the highest offices in command amongst them. The King gave this man to them, and the Venetians assigned him to that command, which he discharged with an universal applause, and for which he was liberally rewarded by the Republic.

When all these forces were thus luckily assembled in the place they desired, it was generally known Failure of
the expedi-
tion.
 that they were to land in the night, all the landing places being under the command, or rather exposed to the cannon of the enemy; but whether or not for want of being well concerted with the officers who commanded within, and could best advise how any attempt was to be made, this work was performed with the greatest confusion imaginable, and they all landed into the town and fort; and at the head of them the Duke de Beaufort, who ought not to have left his ship; and in his presence the Duke de Navailles could not assume the command. The Duke de Beaufort, transported with vanity that he might have the honour to defeat the Turks, or led by his
 destiny,

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IX.

destiny, would, as soon as he landed, and in the same darkness, presently conduct his troops to assault the enemy's trenches, without having seen the posture in which they lay, nor how near their trenches were to the other; nor could the Venetian General, or St. André Montbrun, prevail with him to defer it till the morning, though they assured him of the desperate-ness that must attend the present enterprise: and this attempt was pursued in such confusion, that the Duke de Navailles protested afterwards, for his excuse and justification, that he never knew any thing of the council and resolution (being intent upon the safe disembarkation of those troops which were not come yet on shore, and upon their accommodation) till he heard that the Duke de Beaufort was engaged in the sally, for which he quickly paid dear; for he and most of those who followed him were cut off and destroyed, without doing any considerable damage to the enemy. And so the unparalleled rashness of one night, and, as is supposed, of one man, rendered the whole design, that had been prepared and conducted till then with great prudence and vast expence, fruitless, unfortunate, and dishonourable. The body of the Duke was never found or known, though many rumours were dispersed concerning it, that the Grand Vizier had caused his head to be cut off, and sent it to the Grand Signior, and such other stories. This so signal defeat defeated all other hopes of relieving or preserving Candia. The several fleets returned with what was left to their several stations, and the fort and garrison shortly after (though not sooner than was confessedly necessary) surrendered upon more honourable terms than they had reason to expect from so barbarous an enemy. The fatal
account

account of this expedition made so great an impression upon the spirits of the good Pope, weakened enough before by the weakness of his body and many infirmities, that he lived but a short time after, his whole reign having continued less than three years, in which time he did all the good he could to all men, and no harm to any, and is the only Pope of many ages whose death no man desired, and whose loss more men lamented; nor was any of his family reproached with his memory.

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When Clement was dead, all the factions which had been united in the choice of him, and had been composed and laid to sleep during his reign, presently broke out, and appeared with more noise and bitterness than ever. Cardinal Chigi, by the countenance and favour he had received during the whole Pontificate of Clement, and there having so few of his uncle's creatures died in that time, was like to have more credit in the next Conclave than he had in the last, though it then appeared to be very great; and the very good life of Cardinal Barberini, and the universal esteem of his virtue and affection to the Church, was like to make as many votes to be at his disposal as at any man's; and all men knew that they two would never design the same person to the Chair; so that all prognosticated a very long and a very troublesome Conclave. And such it fell out to be. For Cardinal Chigi, having with too much vanity bragged that no man should be chosen Pope who was not amongst the creatures of his uncle, had been able to exclude all those who had been proposed; and they had likewise authority and power enough to exclude all those whom he desired to promote. After they had remained in the Conclave

Clement X.
Altieri.

CHAP. IX. five months by the affectation and obstinacy of Chigi, (who found he was much censured by all men for it,) he began to relent, and accept of such a Pope as was not notoriously believed to be an enemy; and so they at last even unanimously consented in the election of the youngest Cardinal, though the oldest man, and who was most like quickly to make room for a successor; and Cardinal Altieri was made Pope, who, out of reverence to his patron, assumed the name of Clement the Tenth.

His origin
and cha-
racter.

Æmilio Altieri had been, in the reign of Urban the Eighth, a man of great eminency, and by him made Nuncio in the kingdom of Naples, which office he exercised with a general good testimony many years, being a place of good profit, and independent upon the Vice-King, who is rather inferior, but pretends not to have any jurisdiction over him. He was then looked upon as of that class that was to come next to the purple; but Urban dying, and Innocent succeeding, he was presently recalled, not without some marks of disgrace. For Innocent had formerly been in the exercise of the same function, and well remembered the silent gains of it, and would therefore call Altieri to such an account as might dispose him to offer some composition; to which the other, though he was esteemed very rich, utterly refused to submit, and challenged his accusers; whereupon he was discountenanced, and set aside, lived as a private person in Rome, and during the reigns of Innocent and Alexander (which continued near twenty years) he was without any employment, unknown or unregarded. As soon as Clement was Pope, who had formerly known his abilities, and had great familiarity with him, (both being

ing then looked upon as of the same level,) he called him to the court, and made him Master of the Chamber, and, a few months before his death, created him Cardinal, the last of that creation, not without some presage that he would succeed him. Yet his best title was, that he was eighty-three years of age, and all the vigour of his faculties so much decayed and broken, that he did not remember in the morning what he had said or done the night before. So that he wanted only a Cardinal Hildebrand to persuade him to resign the Papacy, as his predecessor Calixtus the Fifth had done, for the like infirmity. But the poor man hath reigned already above three years, with the general reputation of a good and pious man, who gives his neighbours or his subjects little trouble, choosing rather to do nothing at all, than to run the hazard of doing any thing amiss; and if his successors shall be of the same rare temper, they will not be the worse spoken of.

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IX.

 CHAP. X

*Concluding Observations—upon the Pope's usurped
Supremacy—and the Duty of Catholic Subjects to
Protestant Sovereigns.*

Result of
this Inqui-
ry.

WE have now attended every Pope from their first institution in St. Peter, to the present Pope Clement the Tenth, who is now living, and reckoned upon the best account to be the two hundred and forty-third Pope from St Peter; and where there is any difference in the calculation, it is from those Pontifical histories which record some Anti-Popes, who were acknowledged for the true and lawful in those provinces, as it often fell out in all the schisms. And I conceive, that upon this short view there hath not been one half century of years in which it hath not appeared, that the successors of St. Peter either did not challenge or assume to themselves that power and authority that is now claimed by divine right, or that they were opposed and contradicted in the point by considerable parts of the Christian Church, which rejects it from a Catholic verity, and so cannot be reckoned amongst the Catholic doctrines.

It

It will be no unnatural addition and conclusion to this historical discourse, to make two observations, which may very well be verified out of it. CHAP. X.

The first is, the extreme scandal and damage religion hath sustained from this exorbitant affectation of superiority and sovereignty in the Pope; the greatest schisms and separations amongst Christians having flowed from that fountain; and from thence the greatest ruin to Kings and kingdoms, in the vast consumption of treasure and blood in unnatural wars and rebellions, having had their original.

Concluding observations.

I. The public mischief of the Pope's affectation of sovereignty.

The second is, that Catholic Princes themselves, who, for their own benefit and mutual exchange of conveniencies, do continue that correspondence with the Popes, and do themselves pay and enjoin their subjects to render that submission and obedience to him, have not that opinion of his divine right, nor do they look upon it as any part of their religion; so that in truth the obligation which is imposed upon the Catholic subjects of Protestant Princes is another religion, or at least consists of more articles of faith than the Catholic Princes and their subjects do profess to believe.

II. That Catholic Princes themselves have not that opinion of the Pope's divine right, nor look upon it as a part of their religion.

For the first of these, the original and progress of the differences and proceedings between the Popes, with and against the Eastern Church, will sufficiently manifest, that that irreparable damage to Christianity, and by which Turcism and Infidelity have gotten so much ground, proceeded solely from the unreasonable affectation of dominion and tyranny in the Bishops of Rome, and from their magisterial rejection of all reasonable overtures of compliance.

Historical proofs of the first observation.

What was the first scandal and offence that the kingdom of Bohemia took against the Church of Rome, Crusades granted by the Popes

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X.

against
Christian
Princes.

Rome, which grew afterwards into that great revolt under John Huss, but that exorbitant and impious act of John the Twenty-Third, in granting the crusade against Ladislaus King of Naples? upon preaching whereof in Prague, the people rose with a general indignation, saying, "that none but Anti-Christ" "would grant a Crusade against Christians:" and what advantage Luther got afterwards by the preaching up the Indulgence, and how great a scandal it gave to the best Catholics of that time, may be manifested at large.

The spiri-
tual sword
of Excom-
munication
employed
for tempo-
ral ends.

That dreadful process of the Church, the spiritual sword, which cuts off enormous sinners by Excommunication, whilst it was applied only to the punishment of vice, and to separate those from the communion of Christians who led the lives of Infidels, was looked upon with reverence by the people, and even with veneration by Princes themselves, whilst those censures were issued to spiritual ends, and only for the salvation of souls; but when they grew to be the Pope's artillery, and applied only to the compassing his own temporal ends, Princes made no scruple of repelling that force by force, and raised Catholic armies to protect themselves against that uncatholic tyranny. The instances are too many in the imperial histories, and in the reigns of the Henries and Frederics, of great deluges of blood, and unnatural rebellions, from this usurpation. Gregory the Ninth first excommunicated, merely upon matter of right and title, the Emperor Frederic the Second, for detaining that which belonged to him by the laws of the empire; and when he was not terrified with that thunderbolt, he granted the Crusade (which had never before been used but to support a war with Infidels)

Infidels) against the most Christian Emperor. And CHAP.
X.
 Alexander the Fourth did the same against Man-
 frido King of Naples, who claimed that kingdom by
 descent from the Emperor Frederic his father. When
 Pedro King of Arragon made war against Charles
 King of Naples, Martin the Fourth would have dis-
 suaded him from it, which when he could not do, he
 issued out his process of Excommunication against
 him; and his successor, Pope Honorius the Fourth,
 (who, they say, was of so virtuous and excellent a
 disposition, that he never in his life did any thing to
 anger or grieve any body,) continued the same cen-
 sures against Pedro, on the behalf of the King of
 Naples.

The case of the kingdom of Naples, with reference Deprivation
of sove-
reigns and
giving a-
way of
Crowns.
Case of the
kingdom of
Naples.
 to the two Crowns of Spain and France, is too noto-
 rious, and hath cost the lives of too many thousands
 of the gallant persons that Europe had bred, not to
 be mentioned. Shortly after Pope Martin the Fifth
 came to Rome, upon the conclusion of the Council
 of Constance, Lewis Duke of Anjou came thither to
 him; and there being at that time great differences
 between the Pope and Jane, Queen of Naples, and
 the Pope having a desire to make France his friend,
 he gave the investiture of Naples to the Duke of An-
 jou, and deprived the Queen of that crown. She
 presently applied herself to Alonso King of Arragon
 for aid; and, the better to dispose him to her assist-
 ance, and having no children of her own, she adopt-
 ed him for her son; who thereupon raised an army,
 and undertook her quarrel, and therewith compelled
 Lewis to desist from the prosecution of his pretences:
 and so Alonso being now the stronger, the Pope con-
 curred with the Queen, confirmed her adoption of
 him

CHAP. him and his title to the kingdom of Naples after her
 X. decease. Yet he had no mind to have so powerful a neighbour in Italy; and therefore, the Queen in a short time after disagreeing with Alonso, she, with the formal consent and approbation of the Pope, (who confessed himself to have been ill informed,) revoked the adoption she had made of Alonso, and adopted her old enemy the Duke of Anjou for her son. This so incensed the King of Arragon, that he threatened the Pope with a Council, and first proposed the re-hearing of the case of Benedict the Thirteenth, and afterwards set up his Anti-Pope Clement, (as I have mentioned before,) until he reduced the Pope to reason, and to do him full justice; inso-much that he deprived Queen Jane of her crown, and likewise her adopted son Lewis, and gave the present investiture of Naples and Sicily to Alonso. And from hence had grown that bloody difference, and from the inconstancy and injustice of the Pope is the foundation of that quarrel, which had lasted now above two hundred years between the Crowns of Spain and France about the kingdom of Naples, and which hath wasted little less blood, and little less infested Italy, than the incursions of the Goths and Vandals did heretofore.

Case of the
 kingdom
 of Navarre.

The case of the kingdom of Navarre may in some considerations appear yet harder. When the quarrel was between Pope Julius the Second and Lewis the Twelfth of France, (which I mentioned before,) and when Lewis was thereupon excommunicated because he would not give over making war upon the Venetians, in which he was first engaged by the Pope, Ferdinand, King of Arragon, like a good son of the Church, would drive Lewis out of those domi-
 nions

nions of which the Pope had deprived him, and so raised an army to invade France; for the facilitating whereof he desired leave of John, King of Navarre, to march through his country; which the King denied, both in respect of his alliance with the King of France, and the inconvenience and mischief that might attend the receiving an army, though of an ally, into his country. This Ferdinand called a disobedience to the commands of the Church, and an adhering to its enemies, and pressed the Pope to pronounce the same ecclesiastical censures against the King of Navarre, as he had done against Lewis; which the Pope accordingly did, and deprived him of his kingdom; and then Ferdinando, the champion of the Church, marches with his army into Navarre, drives the poor King out, and possesses himself entirely of his kingdom, without farther practising any acts of hostilities against France; and, upon this wonderful proceeding of the Pope, the kingdom of Navarre continues to this day in the possession of Spain, and the right heirs of that King remain disinherited.

Upon this occasion I could enlarge, and shew how little good Christians ought to think themselves concerned in that customary, uncharitable, and unreasonable reproach of heretics and schismatics; which is the usual appellation the Church of Rome and its followers give to all those who are not of their communion, because they will not submit to its jurisdiction; and which are angry words they have always given to the most Catholic persons, and in most Catholic times, with whom they have had any litigation; hoping by a fond inversion of logic, because the Church hath been thought the most proper judge of

CHAP.
X.Disobedi-
ence to the
Pope's ju-
risdiction
denomi-
nated He-
resy, and
made mat-
ter of spiri-
tual juris-
diction.

CHAP. of spiritual offences, to persuade the world, that
X. whatever they have a mind to judge and determine is therefore spiritual. And as, without giving those ill names of heretics and schismatics to those persons (whether Princes or others) whom they have a mind to do wrong to, they cannot handsomely pretend to have any jurisdiction over them, those terms of art are become an essential part of the form of their process: so, (as hath been touched before,) to omit infinite other examples, when Pope John the Two and Twentieth was to oblige the French King, by disobliging the Emperor Ludovico, he cited him to appear at Avignon, whither he could not come without an army, it being in the dominion of his greatest enemy; and for not appearing within the time prescribed, (three months,) the Pope declared him Apostate, and a Rebel to the commands of his Holy Mother the Church, and thereupon deprived him of all his dominions, and anathematized as Rebels, Apostates, and Heretics, all persons who adhered to him, or gave him any title of dignity: by which we may judge how comprehensive a word Heresy is, when the Pope would hurt any body he is angry with; and it relates as well to doing or not doing according to his pleasure, as to impious opinions against the good will of God. And it is no unpleasant instance that Fra Paolo gives, in his History of the Inquisition, of the Bull published in the year thirteen hundred twenty-six, which declared all those who carried any merchandize to the Infidels to be Heretics; by which invention the Pope thought to have had all the trade of the Levant driven by his licence, all the merchants standing in need of absolution for every voyage they made; and the Pope did for a time

The Emperor Ludovico declared a Heretic for not appearing upon a citation to Avignon.

Merchants declared to be Heretics if trading with Infidels.

time get much money by it, till that Republic would not endure that matter of trade should fall under his jurisdiction. CHAP.
X.

I would very willingly pass over two infamous actions done by Gregory the Thirteenth, if I did not find the memory of them preserved in their own histories, as instances of signal piety and magnanimity in that Pope, which I believe all good Christians will look upon as very unjustifiable. The first, his sending an express to give the *parabien* to Charles the Ninth of France, upon the massacre at Paris, in which so many thousand persons of all conditions, and both sexes, were cruelly murdered, without the least form of justice, or manifestation of guilt, according to the barbarous will and appetite of the persons employed in that execrable mission of blood, and which was attended with so many judgments upon the royal family, that was universally engaged in the support of it. The second, the same Pope's sending Dr. Parry to murder Queen Elizabeth; which is thus far manifest in the life of that Pope, (for except out of our own records I allege nothing,) that Dr. Parry was satisfied by the Nuncio at Milan that it was lawful for him to kill Queen Elizabeth, upon this supposition and concession, that the act was to be performed only out of Christian charity, and zeal to advance Catholic religion, not out of any personal animosity or revenge; and upon this grave decision of this casuist, the Doctor had the Pope's own pass to go through France, and so into England, where what became of him is well enough known; and this was the rise of all those laws which have drawn so much blood from Catholics; and from hence the Catholic religion was so discredited, as if it cancelled all the obligations of subjects,

Massacre
of St. Bar-
thélemi ap-
proved by
Gregory
XIII.

Dr. Parry
sent by
him to
murder
Queen E-
lizabeth.

CHAP.
X.

jects, and placed the security of Princes in the suppression of that religion: and they who will not condemn that theological determination must excuse those laws which endeavoured to pervert the effect thereof.

Cæsar
d'Este ex-
communi-
cated as a
Heretic for
claiming
the Duchy
of Ferrara
by gift
from his
father.

That Clement the Eighth should endeavour to recover the Duchy of Ferrara as a feudo of the Church, and to recover it by force of arms, though that issue was properly to be determined by a process in law, is no wonder, nor (it may be) blame-worthy; but that he should excommunicate Cæsar d'Este for making claim to it by a donation from his father, the last Duke, and excommunicate him as a Heretic and schismatic, who was never accused of any erroneous opinion in religion; that he should use those tragical expressions, “that he would sell all the vessels of the altar to maintain his army, and would himself die in the graff of the town with the blessed sacrament in his hand,” as if the attributes of God himself were to be vindicated by that action; cannot make any deep impression in the hearts of Christians, or dispose them to that reverence of his determination, as if they were dictated by the Holy Ghost.

Rebellions
of the
League in
France sup-
ported by
the Popes.

Nor can the proceedings of that Pope, and three or four of his predecessors, in the support of the League in France, (which was the most barefaced rebellion against two of their Kings,) be forgotten. And what was then written in defence of the Pope's power and proceedings cannot but have left jealousies in the hearts of the most Catholic Princes, who must discern how incongruous such an ecclesiastical sovereignty is, and how inconsistent with the temporal in the same dominions; and it must much more
awaken

awaken Protestant Kings and Princes, who can never be content that their subjects shall divide their affections between them and a foreign power, that hath published such maxims. CHAP.
X.

Amongst these, the account the Cardinal d'Ossat gave the King his master must not be forgotten, when he advised him to declare to the Pope, that when he recovered the Marquisate of Saluzzo, he resolved to put in a Catholic Governor and garrison, lest the apprehension the Pope had of the increase of Heresy there might dispose him to adhere to the Duke of Savoy, and that he might keep it; for the Cardinal said, he did know that the Pope and all his court did hold, that to preserve Catholic religion in any country, and to keep it from Heresy, His Holiness can and ought to take it from the true Lord and possessor, and give it to any other that hath no right to it, provided that he can and will maintain the Catholic religion better in it. And therefore Protestant Princes are not to be blamed, if they are not willing that such casuists should have any jurisdiction over the consciences of their subjects, and desire that they, upon whose fidelity and obedience their security so much depends, may disclaim any consent to such odious conclusions. Cardinal
d'Ossat's
account of
the max-
ims of the
Court of
Rome.

I will conclude this consideration with a miserable instance, that is too fresh to be put out of our memories, of the prejudice brought upon Catholic Religion, and the peace of kingdoms, by this usurpation in the Pope; even the miseries of our own poor country, which hath been mentioned before; which, if they have not been brought upon us immediately by the rebellion in Ireland, would very easily have been prevented, or at least remedied, if that rebellion had not been a rebellion fomented, cherished, and Irish rebel-
lion fomen-
ted by the
Pope.

CHAP.
X.

and supported immediately by the Pope, with all the circumstances of his power in Bulls, Benedictions, and presence of his Nuncio, who took upon him to be General of the army in rebellion against the King, and to exercise a full sovereign power in all things: and when, out of conscience, the representative body of the Catholics had resolved to return to their duty and obedience of their lawful King, and thereupon obtained from his Majesty such gracious and ample concessions as satisfied and pleased themselves, and had solemnly bound and obliged themselves to perform all the offices and duties of subjects in assisting his Majesty, the Pope's Nuncio absolved them from all those obligations, and excommunicated all persons whatsoever who should adhere to the peace then so solemnly made; by this means, and finding a supine obedience in that unhappy nation, deprived his Majesty of the assistance he should have had, and which probably might have preserved his life, and restored his dominions to peace; instead whereof, that whole nation, and the Catholics of the kingdom, have suffered intolerably, and have great reason to abhor that jurisdiction.

Papal jurisdiction not exercised for the prevention of wars or rebellions.

It were to be wished that the conveniences and benefits which flow from this illimited prerogative were in any degree notorious to the world; and that, in lieu of those many schisms and bloody wars it hath produced, we could find that it had ever composed the like distempers, and that by soft and charitable applications it had ever prevented those miseries. But I doubt there will be very few instances given where the spiritual sword hath been unsheathed purely to those spiritual ends. How many rebellions have we seen raised by Catholic subjects
against

against Catholic Princes, and yet no interposition of CHAP.
X.
that supreme judicatory over the consciences of men to punish or reform those enormous crimes? If there be such a jurisdiction over the consciences and actions of sovereign Princes, why is it not exercised and extended towards those who, out of unchristian ambition and animosity, make war upon each other, to that infinite prejudice and consumption of their subjects, and general disturbance of Christendom? Why doth not the Pope in those cases put Christian Princes in mind of their duty to God and man, and exact an obedience from them to those precepts which themselves confess to be prescribed by himself? If they think not fit to proceed in those high cases in any other method than by neglected and despised mediation, yet why do they not at least issue out their Excommunications against all Catholics who rebel against Catholic Princes? Why were not the Catholics of Catalonia excommunicated and interdicted for the rebellion against the King of Spain? Why was not the city of Paris interdicted when it shut its gates and refused to receive the King, and when it published an Arrêt to encourage and reward any man who would assassinate a Prince of the Church? It is morally certain, if these wholesome and extraordinary remedies had been or were applied in those cases, rebellion would be at an end; nor would the discontent or ambition of any particular persons be able to support it. And if they will not perform this Catholic office, and exercise this Catholic power, where their authority is confessed, and an obedience thereto enjoined by the municipal laws of the kingdom, what hope is there that it would do good, or what encouragement is there

CHAP. there to submit to it in other places where it is not
 X. acknowledged? And how hard a case is it that it
 must be a part of the Religion of the English Catholics?

Proofs of
 the second
 observation;
 by the different man-
 ner and extent in
 which the
 Papal jurisdiction is
 exercised in several Catholic king-
 doms.

To draw then to a conclusion, and for the manifestation of the other proposition, "That Catholic Princes themselves, and their subjects who continue their correspondence with the Pope, and do pay that submission and obedience to him, do it not out of any opinion of the divinity of it, nor do look upon it as a vital part of their Religion," this is clear enough, by the different manner and extent of the jurisdiction which he doth exercise in several Catholic kingdoms; which would be the same in all if it were founded upon divine right, and he would have the same jurisdiction and privilege in the kingdom of France, that he hath in the kingdom of Spain.

Clement
 VII. made
 prisoner by
 the Emperor Charles
 V.

If the great Emperor Charles the Fifth had in truth believed the Church of Rome to be the mother and mistress of all other Churches, and that he did owe a true and entire obedience to the person of the Pope, as to the Vicar of Jesus Christ, it had not been possible he could have used the person of Clement the Seventh in that manner, or suffered him to have been made a prisoner, and prosecuted with those circumstances of contumely and reproach; but he would have taken vengeance of the General and officers of his army, as upon most sacrilegious wretches. Whereas, when he writ to them to set the Pope at liberty, he directed them to do it in such a manner, that of a friend he should not become an enemy; which was, that he should be so looked to, that it should not be in his power to do any harm; and when

when the Emperor afterwards did meet with the Pope, he never made the least apology for what had been done against him, but even then compelled him to that extravagancy against Henry the Eighth, with whom he himself presently after made a stricter friendship than before. CHAP. X.

If the same Emperor had believed that the sovereign power, in determination of matters of faith, had resided in Pope Paul the Third, he would not have called the Diet at Spire, and referred the examination of those high points then in controversy to them; nor taken afterwards upon himself to have granted the Interim, by which it was lawful for the several Churches in Germany to profess those opinions, and exercise that Religion, until a General Council should be called, which the Pope had declared to be schismatical and heretical. Diet of Spire, and the Interim granted by Charles V. in the time of Paul III.

In the time of Julius the Third, and after the year fifteen hundred and fifty, Ferdinand King of the Romans, having clearly discovered that the Cardinal Georgio, who was employed and entrusted with the command of the army in Transilvania, had a secret treaty with Soliman the Grand Signior to deliver that province into his hands, and, knowing no other way to prevent that mischief but by the death of the Cardinal, sent chosen persons to kill him, who did it accordingly; upon which the Pope excommunicated Ferdinand, who neither took notice of it, nor made the least address to him thereupon: so that shortly after he found it necessary himself to revoke the Excommunication, and absolved the King without any application to him. And what opinion the Republic of Venice had of the Excommunication and Interdict issued against them by Paul the Fifth, hath Excommunication of Ferdinand King of the Romans by Julius III. and of the Republic of Venice by Paul V. disregarded by each.

x x

been

CHAP. been mentioned at large, and few people are ignorant
X. enough to need information of it.

The Spirit-
tual Sove-
reignty of
the Pope
denied by
the Galli-
can Church
in the case
of Henry
IV.

What opinion the Gallican Church hath of that Spiritual Sovereignty, amongst a thousand other instances, their proceeding in the case of Henry the Fourth is evidence enough, that being a case of Heresy, which cannot be denied to be of ecclesiastical cognizance. And if the Bishop of Rome hath any jurisdiction out of his own diocese, he can reserve such a case to himself as Clement the Eighth did, publishing such his reservation, and inhibiting all other persons to meddle in it, with all the formalities which could be devised; and yet the Archbishop of Bourges and seventeen other Catholic Bishops joined together, and (notwithstanding the reservation of the Pope, and all his threats and commands to the contrary) proceeded in the absolution of the King, and received him into the Catholic Church; nor, when the Pope himself complied, could he ever afterwards prevail to satisfy the King that his former absolution should ever be acknowledged to be void, as hath been before observed,

Menaces
of Spain
to Urban
VIII. and
of France
and Portu-
gal to In-
nocent X.

Whosoever sees the expostulations which have been made, and the menaces which have been given, by the King of Spain to Pope Urban the Eighth, upon that Pope's violent inclination to France; or from the King of France and the Portuguese to Innocent the Tenth; must believe that all those Catholic kingdoms do not think the power and authority of the Pope to be greater in their respective dominions than they please to give him, nor by any other title than their own donation.

The Pope's
claim of u-
niversal ju-

Since then this unnecessary universal jurisdiction of the Pope, which affronts the supreme government
of

of Kings Princes and States, and perplexes the faith of Catholics themselves, (there being scarce one national Church that hath the same notion of it,) hath no foundation in Scripture, where all articles of faith are to be found, nor was ever exercised or pretended to by St. Peter ;—since for many hundred years no one of his successors demanded or assumed it, and, when it was first usurped, it always found manifest and public contradiction and opposition in the Church of Christ, and so it hath no foundation in antiquity as a Catholic verity, but in the most pure and sincere ages of the Church, it hath been reproached as an instance of Anti-Christian ambition and tyranny ;—since it hath not yet been declared or instituted in any General Council that is acknowledged by Catholics themselves; the Council of Trent itself (which added so many new declarations and anathemas in Catholic Religion) pretending, that though they added nothing to the Catholic faith, it was necessary to enlarge upon and explain the old articles, that the Church's sense might be clearly known in all those tenets and opinions which they accused the heretics of that age to have set on foot, and yet that same Council not presuming to make one Canon to declare or establish the Pope's universal authority and jurisdiction, which was almost the only point in which all whom they called heretics agreed, and was more insisted on than any doctrinal point in controversy, and therefore needed more vindication;—since the kingdom of France admits it in a very small degree, and even controls it by some privileges of the Gallican Church, whenever it would exercise a jurisdiction not agreeable to the policy of the government, or the pleasure of the governors, nor is

CHAP.
X.

jurisdiction
being un-
scriptural—
and denied
by different
Catholic
nations, in
different
ages, and in
various in-
stances—
it is unrea-
sonable to
require sub-
mission to
it from the
Catholic
subjects of
Protestant
Princes.

CHAP. any determination or Bull of the Pope obligatory
X. there, until received and confirmed by the Crown;
and till then, there is the same liberty in the arguing
and debating the grounds and reasons of it, as if it
were not determined there; as appears in the disqui-
sition upon the five points with reference to the Jan-
senists by the University at Paris, and in many
other particulars, and in the restraints and censures
lately put upon the Society of the Jesuits by several
Bishops in their synods, directly contrary to some
Bulls granted by the Popes to that order;—since in
the most Catholic kingdom of Spain, which is under-
stood generally to depend more on the Pope, and to
have his Supremacy more in veneration than all
other Catholic kingdoms of the world, (though, in
truth, it is but an exchange of mutual conveniences,
the Crown receiving more real benefit and advantage
by the Crusade, which is a vast revenue entirely
given him by the Pope, than it returns by all the
concessions it gives him in Spain,) yet, that it may
not be thought, whatever it is, to be of the Religion
of Spain, but purely of the policy, it is as penal
there as it was in England in the Catholic times to
publish any Bull, or other act of the Court of Rome,
without the licence and approbation of the Crown;
and since the very Inquisition itself was erected by
the civil power and authority of the Crown, nor is any
direction or order to it from the Pope admitted with-
out the express direction of the King; and since no
Bull from Rome is received, of how spiritual a nature
soever, that doth in the least degree concern the go-
vernment, or even the appetite and the humour of the
nation; so that, notwithstanding the Bull which Pius
the Fifth published against the *Toros* in Spain, for-
bidding

bidding any religious or ecclesiastical person to be present at those exercises, and none to have Christian burial who lose their lives in them, (which in truth is no more than Christian temper and discretion should enjoin,) yet the Clergy are formally and in a body present at those entertainments, and the Pope's Bull is no more considered, than if it were an injunction from the Archbishop of Paris, or the Gallican Church; and so, that since the year sixteen hundred and thirty, in the time of Pope Urban the Eighth, upon the dislike of the Pope's too violent inclinations to France, the Spanish Ambassador expostulated very briskly upon that inequality of his temper; and, for want of the satisfaction that was expected, the whole Papal jurisdiction was suspended in Spain, and no subject suffered to appeal to the Nuncio in any case whatsoever:—in a word, since neither Germany, Spain, France, nor Italy itself, admits or receives it in the same degree, nor otherwise than as it is established by the municipal laws of the several dominions; and it is less revered in Italy than almost in any other Catholic country; witness the deportment of the Republic of Venice towards it upon all occasions, and the privileges challenged and assumed in Sicily and Milan, in the last whereof the Missal of St. Ambrose is continued notwithstanding the Pope's Bull, and so, in a matter merely spiritual, it differs from all other Churches in the communion of the Catholic Church;—it is therefore, upon all these grounds, very unreasonable to put a yoke upon the necks of the Catholics who live under Protestant Princes, (who must be acknowledged to owe the same allegiance to their sovereigns which is paid by Catholics to their Kings and Governors,) by obliging

CHAP.
X.

CHAP. X. — them, to contend with the laws of their country, under which they are born, in things merely temporal ; and to distinguish themselves from their fellow subjects, by acknowledging but half that obedience to their Prince which the other pays, and in that part which relates merely and purely to the peace and security of their common country, and not at all to the exercise of their religion ; and thereby to force and compel their Sovereign Princes, who should be common fathers to all their subjects, to give but a half protection to them who will pay but half obedience ; and to make the strictest laws to disenable those from doing hurt by their depraved affections to their King and country, who will not secure their King and country of their good affections to them, by taking those lawful oaths which are the common bonds of all subjects within the same dominions, and which have as well to do with the illimited fancies of the brain, as the dutiful affections of the heart ; and though men cannot reasonably be tied to think what others think, they may be ready to do what others do. For no Prince nor State can be secured of the dutiful actions of those who do subject themselves to opinions which control those actions, and dispose the persons not to perform them ; as when the Pope excommunicates all those whom he calls Heretics, and absolves all those who are in subjection to those excommunicated persons from any oaths they have taken to them, and from all duty that they are understood to owe to them. And when Princes see that accordingly their subjects depart from their duty and obedience, have they not great reason to make themselves as sure as may be, that those subjects, to whom they allow the protection of their laws, shall not submit to such authority,

thority, nor in their opinions consent to such doctrine? And if they shall refuse to make any such declarations, have they not great reason to provide for their own security by other restrictions? CHAP. X.

I may, after all this, reasonably wish and advise all my countrymen the Roman Catholics, who are his Majesty's subjects, and live within his Majesty's dominions, and under his protection, (towards many of which I have always performed all offices of friendship, and towards none whereof I have ever shewed prejudice for their opinions,) that they will seriously consider, whether they do not highly offend God Almighty in refusing to give that security to the King for their duty and allegiance towards him as the laws require from them, and which contain no other obligations than Catholic subjects stand bound in to their Catholic Kings; and whether, by adding somewhat to their religion which is not religion, they do not deservedly bring those penalties and forfeitures upon themselves, which they sustain in the very exercise of their religion; and whether the Crown can be without a reasonable and just jealousy of their affection, until they renounce all kind of subjection to, and all kind of dependence upon, the Bishop of Rome, who doth desire all opportunities by which the peace of the kingdom may be disturbed. Advice to the English Roman Catholics.

It is no more excuse for them, than it is security for the King, that they say that they do not acknowledge any temporal authority to be in the Pope, so that he cannot disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that, if himself came to invade the kingdom, they would themselves oppose and resist him with the same courage as they would fight against the Turk. Spiritual authority hath done too much mischief to

Spiritual authority of the Pope undefined and applied to temporal ends.

CHAP. X. be undervalued, or to be believed to have less mind to do mischief than it hath had; nor do they who talk of resisting it know to what degree they would resist, or to what degree they would not assist it, if there were occasion. No man yet knows what themselves mean by that spiritual authority which they own to be in the Pope, and which they would before this time have carefully explained, if they thought it so innocent that no harm could be apprehended from it; and, till they do clearly define what it is, they must not take it ill, if we conceive that they mean enough by it to compass any thing the Pope thinks seasonable to apply it to. So that the attributing any power to him, or acknowledging any to be in him, of how spiritual a nature soever it is thought to be, shall be enough to give law to the temporal, when a spiritual end shall so direct it: and all Kings have reason to believe, that every Pope thinks that he hath the same authority over them which any of his predecessors have ever exercised over any of their predecessors, and as much as Bellarmine, Mariana, or any other Jesuit hath assigned to them. For though it may be presumed that every Pope doth not approve what many of his predecessors have done, (and it is not reasonable or just to charge the Catholic Church with those opinions which particular Catholic writers have published,) yet, since the succeeding Popes have not in the least degree disclaimed or renounced the highest act of power which any of their predecessors have ever exercised, (though they have not found it seasonable or safe for them to attempt the same usurpation,) nor hath the Catholic Church condemned or disapproved those opinions published by Jesuits and other writers, which have been published

lished by public authority, we may reasonably and without breach of charity believe, that it is only want of opportunity, and despair of success, that restrains them from those excesses, and not any reformation in their judgments, or opinion that their jurisdiction is not in truth as large and illimited as any of their predecessors ever presumed to infest the Christian world with.

And I know very well, that, since the King's happy restoration, the Catholics, finding themselves at so much ease that they received no disturbance nor underwent any penalty for the exercise of their religion, and well discerning the reproach his Majesty underwent for his indulgence to them, as if he were not without some inclination to their religion, as well as charity towards their persons, which they easily foresaw would turn to their disadvantage, and that the Parliament would be induced to complain of the licence they enjoyed; and finding also, that, since they refused to take those oaths which the laws enjoined them to take, it concerned them to think of such other security, by way of oath or protestation, as the King might accept as of equal security; some principal persons of that religion desired that there might be a meeting between the superiors and others of the several orders of the Clergy, that they might discourse and agree together upon an oath or subscription, that all Catholics might take or subscribe, to give the King and the State satisfaction of their fidelity. The meeting was at Arundel house, there being, besides ecclesiastical persons, some of the nobility, and other persons of quality of that Religion; where several propositions were made for the disclaiming any authority of the Pope in temporal affairs, to which

CHAP.
X.

The meeting at Arundel, after the Restoration, to agree upon an oath that might give satisfaction to the King.

when

CHAP. when the company seemed generally to agree, a Je-
 X. — suit desired them to consider better of what they
 were about, and enlarged very much that they could
 not with a good conscience deny the Pope to have
 authority even in temporal affairs within the king-
 dom ; which he endeavoured to prove by many argu-
 ments, upon which the company broke up without
 any conclusion, and met no more upon the debate ;
 many much disliking the Jesuit's positive discourse,
 others thinking it not safe for them to be present at
 such argumentations.

Necessity
 for the
 Priests as
 well as the
 Laity to re-
 nounce
 the Pope's
 authority in
 ecclesiasti-
 cal affairs
 as well as
 in tempo-
 ral.

Nor will the secular and regular Clergy ever agree
 upon any expression for the excluding the Pope's au-
 thority. If they were discoursed with by those in
 authority severally, that is, the superiors of the
 Clergy and of the several orders, some would yield
 much farther than others ; and, it may be, some of
 them, if they might have any reasonable presump-
 tion that they should not be exposed to a foreign ju-
 risdiction abroad for denying it at home, would ea-
 sily be induced utterly to abjure any kind of submis-
 sion to the authority of the Popes, towards whom, in
 truth, all those who follow Jansenius (of which there
 are very many of the Seculars, and some of the Regu-
 lars) have very little reverence, and would have less,
 if they might safely disclaim the having any : which
 courage would be much advanced if they saw a dis-
 tinction made, and those who avow the more sturdy
 principles, and own a dependence upon the Papal au-
 thority, made examples of and utterly banished the
 kingdom ; which will not be a severity ingrateful to
 the Catholics of the best quality and most peaceable
 tempers in the kingdom, who undergo much trouble
 and many inconveniences by the froward and impe-
 rious

rious humour of those fire-brands. And the principal care must be of those spiritual persons, the ghostly fathers; and if they be suffered to govern over the consciences of their penitents, without entering into any kind of obligation themselves for their fidelity to the Crown, (as none of them do,) it is no matter what oaths are administered to or taken by the laity; nor can less than an entire and absolute renouncing any kind of submission to the Pope, as well in ecclesiastical as temporal affairs, be in any degree a reasonable assurance of their dutiful and peaceable behaviour.

There is no authority or power that the Pope more affects, or more owns and avows, or doth more exercise, than that, to absolve men from all obligations by the oaths they have taken, and to dispense with them for violating them. And surely he can challenge nor usurp no power that ought to be more odious and formidable to all Princes. And therefore they cannot be too jealous that their subjects may not be corrupted with that doctrine, or too inquisitive that they may discover those who are; which can be no other way, than by their renouncing his having any such power and authority: and if they refuse to declare their judgments in that particular, their fidelity can be no longer depended upon than the Pope will permit them to be loyal; which is a very loose and insecure title for Kings to the duty and loyalty of their subjects. And yet this is all or the greatest objection they can make against their taking those oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which the laws require them to take. They say they are willing to take any oaths, that they will be always faithful to the King, and that they will continue so, notwithstanding

CHAP.
X.

Undefined
extent of
the Pope's
Spiritual
authority.

CHAP. withstanding any dispensation or injunction that the
 X. Pope shall publish or grant; but that they dare not take upon them to define or limit the Pope's power or jurisdiction, and so determine what he can or cannot do; as if they can warrantably declare that they will not obey him, if they once believe that he hath a just and warrantable power to command them.

All Protestants still considered as excommunicated heretics.

They speak as much and no more to the purpose than, that (God be thanked) there is no danger of any such unjust injunctions; that it is now above or near a hundred years since any Pope hath manifested any such disaffection, or issued out any excommunication or other instrument to the prejudice of the Crown; but, on the contrary, that all the late Popes have manifested all possible respect to the King, his father, and his grandfather, and wish and advise that all their subjects should be dutiful and obedient to them. If this were true, as it is notoriously the contrary, as appears by Innocent the Tenth sending Rinuccini his Nuncio into Ireland in the late rebellion there, (as hath been mentioned before,) with as full and absolute power and authority, or a greater, than he gives to his Legates at Bologna or Ferrara, or to his General in the dominions of the Church, and who absolved all his subjects not only from their allegiance, but from the oath they had lately taken, upon the pacification, of future obedience upon the King's pardon of their past transgressions; I say, if this interruption had not been of their pretended modesty and peaceable dispositions, yet we all know that they all look upon the Crown, and all Protestants of his Majesty's dominions, as under the excommunication of Gregory the Thirteenth

teenth and Sixtus Quintus, as if the same had been renewed and thundered out again by the Urbans and the Innocents, and the Clements, who have succeeded; that they look upon them all as the same Heretics they were when those Excommunications were first issued out, and that they renounce all commerce and correspondence with all Protestant Princes and States, by sending or receiving Ambassadors. This declares and avows a perpetual hostility with them, which, if it were generally resented by those Princes, and a war were declared by them all against that Prince and all his subjects, (as by the law of nations might be done,) I much doubt, or rather believe, that no Catholic Prince would find himself concerned in the quarrel to support an insolence so contrary to their joint practice; and which alone prevents and obstructs that Christian unity which ought to be, and would be, amongst all Christian Princes against Pagans and Infidels, and which can only hinder them from making Christendom a prey to the barbarous enemies of Christ.

It is very true, that, since it hath pleased God to bless the Protestant Religion to that degree, that it subsists without the protection, and against all the malice of its enemies; and that the Catholic Princes, notwithstanding all the absolutions excommunications and interdictions from Rome, are well contented to make and observe leagues and treaties of alliance and commerce with them, and to entertain the strictest amity together, to that degree as to enter into leagues offensive and defensive with them, even against Catholic Princes and States; many learned and worthy persons of that Religion have thought fit to renounce and disclaim that odious and horrible

CHAP.
X.

The Church of Rome never disclaimed the tenet, "that faith is not to be kept with heretics."

CHAP. horrible doctrine, "that faith is not to be kept with
 X. "Heretics;" an opinion only of angry and passionate particular men, contrary to the truth and integrity of Catholic Religion; and even the most angry men have in this last age declined the urging and insisting upon that envious and detested proposition. Yet we must say, that this renouncing and disclaiming is but the act of particular men; for the Faculty of the Sorbonne (which hath piously and honestly contradicted, and, as much as in them lies, condemned it) is but so many particular men, as to the pronouncing a Catholic verity. The Church of Rome hath in no degree deposited this weapon by disavowing it, and no half age passes without avowing and assuming it; and if the dictates of the Popes themselves be of authority enough to establish a Catholic doctrine, the tenet and assertion will have no less credit to support it.

Discourse
 of Clement
 VIII. with
 Cardinal
 D'Ossat.

It was but in the reign of Henry the Fourth of France, (as hath been touched upon before,) that Clement the Eighth, then Pope, speaking with Cardinal D'Ossat of a peace between the Crowns of France and Spain, and that they should both join in a war against England, (Queen Elizabeth being then alive,) the Cardinal answered him; that the King, who was always an exact observer of his word and promise, would have much ado to disengage himself from that alliance which he had lately renewed and confirmed by an oath: but the Pope answered him, that that oath was made to an heretic, and that the King had made quite another oath to God, and to him; and afterwards added, (what he had often said to him before,) that Kings and Sovereign Princes gave themselves the liberty to do any thing that might

might tend to their advantage ; and that it was come CHAP.
 now to that height, that nobody imputed it to them X.
 as a crime, nor thought the worse of them for so
 doing ; and alleged a saying of Francis Maria, Duke
 of Urbin, who used to say, “ If a gentleman or a
 “ lord, not a sovereign, kept not his word, it would
 “ be a great dishonour and reproach to him ; but So-
 “ vereign Princes, upon interests of state, could,
 “ without any great blame, make and break treaties at
 “ their pleasure ; make alliances, and, as soon as that
 “ is done, quit them, lie, betray, and do any thing
 “ else :” upon which the good Cardinal observed to
 the King, that the hatred the Pope bore to Heretics
 transported him so far, that he let slip out of his
 mouth sometimes, though under the name of an-
 other, maxims very pernicious, and wholly unworthy
 of a man of honour or honesty. And no question,
 this opinion of the keeping no faith with Heretics is
 as much the doctrine of the Court of Rome now as
 it was then ; and it was the ground of the two Bulls
 mentioned before, and issued out by Urban and In-
 nocent, one against the peace of Germany, and the
 other against that of Spain with the Low Countries,
 after those seas of blood which had been let out in
 both those wars.

It cannot therefore be wondered at, if Protestant Papal Su-
 Princes cannot be confident of the affection and fide- premacy
 lity of their Roman Catholic subjects, who refuse to denied in
 disclaim that power to be in the Pope which he will France by
 be sure to use to their destruction when he finds it the Sor-
 convenient ; and which power they have no obliga- bonne
 tion from their Religion to believe ; for if they had, and the
 the College of Sorbonne would not so often have pre- Gallican
 sumed to declare against it ; and it is no longer since Church.
 than

CHAP. ^{X.} than the year sixteen hundred and thirty-three, that it thought fit, upon a new occasion, to renew the same declaration, “ *quòd subditi fidem et obedientiam Regi Christianissimo ita debent ut ab iis nullo prætextu dispensari possint;*” which is as much as is required of those to whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy are administered. Whoever hath read the many determinations of the Sorbonne upon this subject of the Pope’s authority, or the considerations of the learned Gerson, Chancellor of France, must confess, that all the little reverence the Gallican Church hath for the Pope proceeds only from the narrow concessions that Crown hath made to him, not from the conscience of what he claims as the Vicar of Christ. And Petrus de Aliaco, Bishop of Cambray, and a Cardinal, says clearly in his treatise “ *de Autoritate Ecclesiæ,*” that those words of our Saviour, “ *Petre, rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua,*” was not spoken of the personal faith of Peter, “ *sed de fide ecclesiæ;*” and of that only it was said, that the gates of hell “ *non prævalebunt adversùs eam,* not *adversùs te;*” which was the universal opinion of that age, and is not different from the present; as may further appear by the censure of the Faculty of Paris upon the book written within these very few years by Jaques Vernant, who endeavoured to raise the Pope’s authority to the highest extent of the Jesuits; which censure and declaration against the propositions of Vernant was by this King’s command, after it was registered in the Parliament of Paris, sent to be entered in all the Parliaments within the several provinces of France. And if any doubt can remain of the opinion of the Gallican Church in this particular, it will be cleared by reading the excellent book of

of the late Bishop of Paris, Petrus de Marca, "*De* CHAP.
Concordiâ Sacerdotii et Imperii." X.

But let the Gallican Church say what it will, and the College of Sorbonne define and determine what it thinks reasonable, and the Crown of France do what it pleases to manifest its power and authority, there can be no question but that the Church and the Court of Rome adhere still to their old most rigid maxims; and, however their civility and manners in conversation are more refined, their bitterness animosity and malice against all those of the reformed Religion are not in any degree inferior to what they were when Luther first provoked them; and all the extravagant and execrable expressions they then used against those of that Religion, and against those Princes who countenanced them, or against those Princes who would not or could not prosecute them with the same fury and blood-thirstiness as they wished and advised, (in which the Emperor himself, as well as the King of France, or other Catholic Princes, underwent a full measure of reproaches;) I say, the same spirit still reigns, and the same pride and acrimony will be expressed, when they shall find a conjuncture which they believe will be favourable to them.

And of this there needs no other manifestation than the many virulent expressions and invectives throughout the two great volumes published by the late Cardinal Pallavicini against all of that Religion, in his answer to the unanswerable History of the Council of Trent, (even whilst the pillar was standing in Rome as the monument of the supremacy of the King of France, Lewis the Fourteenth, over Alexander the Seventh, Bishop of Rome,) and his so carefully publishing the authentic letter sent from Paul

Unaltered
spirit of the
Church and
Court of
Rome.

The publi-
cation of
Pallavicini's
Answer to
the Council
of Trent.

CHAP. the Third to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, upon
X. his convocation of the German States to Worms and the edict there, after that great Prince had enough declared the esteem and reverence he had for the Sacred Chair, by his sacking of Rome, and imprisonment and contumelious usage of the person of Clement the Seventh, upon his odious dissimulation and reiterated breach of faith: yet the next successor of that very Pope presumed, upon the occasion of that Prince's convening that assembly, (in which that edict was made for the Interim, until the differences in religion could be settled by a General Council,) to write that letter to him, in which he declared that he had nothing to do to interpose or give rules concerning religion, though in his own dominions, but that the same depended wholly upon him as the Vicar of Christ; and, besides the misapplying several texts of Scripture, as if his authority over the Emperor had been fully established there, he puts him in mind of the proceedings of his predecessors, the Popes, against the Harries and the Frederics, the predecessors of the Emperor, for their disobedience to the Holy Chair; and mentions the wicked effects of those treasons and conspiracies of those Popes as the punishment of God upon that disobedience in the Emperors; and does upon the matter menace him with the like, if he doth not retract that edict, upon the observation whereof the peace of Germany did entirely depend. And it may very reasonably be believed, that the chief end and reason of publishing that book (which, by the formality of the licence, and the Pope's own grant for the sole impression of it, may be justly received as the doctrine of the Catholic Church) was only to revive all those angry propositions and bitter expressions against those of the
Pre-

Protestant Religion; and that they may be looked upon as such heretics as the Church can have no peace with or charity for, how different soever their common stile is now from that which was used towards them in that age; and that they may see that they have the same opinion of them, and kindness towards them, as Sixtus the Fifth had, when he told Cardinal Joyeuse that Queen Elizabeth was an infidel deprived of her kingdom by Apostolical censures, and that he would treat the Turk with much more kindness and condescension than he would do any heretic.

And if the Pope be allowed to exercise any authority in another Prince's dominions (how limited soever the same may seem to be) under the stile of spiritual, or any other restraint, it shall, by the artifice and comments of his emissaries the Priests, be extended to such a magnitude in the hearts and affections of the subjects, as shall be strong enough to disturb and shake all the temporality, when it shall be applied to that purpose; and therefore, any pretence to the whole must be renounced, and those oaths taken by the Clergy, and by all Priests who shall be suffered to abide within the kingdom, as well as by the Laity, whose obedience can never be ascertained whilst their consciences are governed or directed by men who are not under the same obligations.

Next the so stupid resignation to, or introduction of the supreme authority of the Bishop of Rome into so many provinces of the Latin Church, (for they do not pretend that any of the Greek Church, which was still much the more numerous, ever paid subjection to them till within few years, and what con-

CHAP.
X.

Necessity of
the Clergy
taking the
same oaths
as the Laity.

Papal Supremacy
the great
cause of
uncharitable
disunion be-
tween
Christians.

CHAP. X. cessions they made for that unprofitable subjection is
 — as well known,) nothing is more wonderful, than that it hath not been rejected by more ; since it is every day more and more understood, not only by the learned scholars in all Catholic kingdoms, but by the great Princes and Statesmen of that Church, that it is no essential part of their religion; and that it is the greatest, if not the only cause of the uncharitable disunion and separation between Christians ; I say uncharitable, for disunion and separation there may be without uncharitableness.

Impossibility of the Church of Rome consenting to any reconciliation of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches.

The temper of considering how all good Christians may become so far united as to pray for and with one another, (which is an expedient piously to be longed for,) hath persuaded many devout men of the Roman, as well as of the Protestant party, to believe as well as wish, that a way may be found out to reconcile both Churches ; and that one and the other, parting with somewhat that may piously be parted with, both may be reconciled to a charitable and religious communion together ; and, it may be, the opinion of the easiness and probability of this, if the consultation were entered upon, hath prevented much of that reformation which would before this time have been made in both Churches by themselves, if they had not deferred it out of an opinion that it would be better done together. For neither of the Churches believe that there is no doctrine in either which may not be better explained, and that there are not many other particulars, both in discipline and practice, which may not be altered or departed from, for the satisfaction of such a considerable body of good Christians as would thereby be reconciled to one congregation and one communion.

And

And this would easily be done, if Sovereign Princes would vindicate their own authority and supreme jurisdiction, and by National Councils take care for the settling all matters pertaining to the Church in their own dominions, which, by correspondence with the like National Councils under the neighbour Princes, will without any difficulty sever what is of the essence of religion from what may in the practice of it be permitted, in respect of the government nature and customs of several nations; so that all Christians would but submit to the present customs of the devotions and religious rites established in the several Churches where they come; as St. Ambrose told St. Austin, that he found great ease in himself (and therefore commended that temper to him) in conforming to the practice of the Church of Rome whilst he was at Rome, and by observing the customs of the Church of Milan whilst he was at Milan: and they would find argument enough in the devotions of every Christian Church to communicate together, (though there were many opinions, if they were examined, in which they did not concur,) whereby the visible and uncharitable outward schism would be prevented, which alone keeps the different opinions from being reconciled, by keeping them from being understood. But to imagine that this blessed reformation and pacification can ever be made by or with the consent of the Pope, or without the demolishing his Supremacy, and excluding him from any power in the territories of other Princes or over their subjects, is not worthy of the experience or the wisdom of the present age. It is lawful and reasonable for us to judge by their constant practice, and what they have always done from the time they

CHAP.
X.

CHAP. have grasped the power in their own hands, what
 X. — they will do for the future ; and we may be sharp-sighted enough to discern what they ought in wisdom not to do, if they hope to preserve that power still in their hands.

Opinions
 which have
 restrained
 Catholic
 and Pro-
 testant
 Princes
 from re-
 forming
 the Papal
 Usurpa-
 tion.

There are indeed two particular opinions, or rather imaginations, which have restrained, and (it may be) still restrain both Catholic and Protestant Princes from pursuing this expedient, and have been entertained by many very pious and learned men of the one and the other profession, as like to produce that which is so desirable ; but which can less reasonably entertain us longer, than when they first entered into the minds of men. The first is, a belief, that the observation which the Popes of this last age cannot but have made, how offensive and neglected many of their usurpations grow every day to Catholic Princes and States, no less than to Protestants, (who live towards each other with the same fidelity and punctuality as either of them observes towards the Holy Chair itself,) will induce them to consent in time to such a reformation or concession as may satisfy all parties ; rather than run the hazard in some sturdy conflict, that may arise by very many accidents, (which may naturally be supposed to occur,) to have more extorted from them, when they are less at ease to contend. The second is, that the growth and multiplication of erroneous opinions in matter of religion, or from matter of religion, (which, without being heretical by any rule that is yet declared, may prove as troublesome to the peace and unity of kingdoms, as well Catholic as others, as if they were heretical,) may dispose all Catholic Princes to oblige the Popes to consent to the calling a General Council, with such circum-

circumstances with reference to liberties of all kinds, CHAP.
X.
as may prepare all men to come with that temper
and ingenuity as shall engage them in the investi-
gation of truth, without inclining to faction or in-
terest: and men are the more in love with this reme-
dy, and think it like to be the more effectual, if they
have any other reason beside, because all Popes have
most unwillingly ever been drawn to submit to it, or
to call any Council; except it be held in a place
subject to their government, and by persons like to
be at their own disposal. But, I say, either of these
expectations is not worthy of that sagacity that all
men of experience and observation in the great
transactions of the world are endued with, of what
opinion soever, and who know of how little preva-
lence the sincere and abstracted love of religion is in
all those transactions.

The ground of the first error hath proceeded from
the familiar, and, it may be, innocent conversation
between persons of different judgments, though both
of confessed learning, who, finding that those differ-
ences did not produce any aversion from each other,
did really believe that the same temper would work
the same effect in all other men; especially in those
who in all politic respects seemed to them to have
most reason to wish a reconciliation. And from
hence either side makes conclusions according to the
narrowness of their own understandings, and unskil-
fulness in their conjectures; whilst one of them con-
cludes, that the Church of Rome would make more
concessions than it can ever be induced to make;
and the other as unwarrantably thinking, that such,
or it may be fewer condescensions, would satisfy all
the Protestant Princes or Churches, of which kind of

Improbabi-
lity of the
Pope's con-
senting to
any refor-
mation or
concessions.

CHAP. satisfaction they have no manner of comprehension;
 X. — and, by having a good opinion of each other's manners and sincerity, think that the differences between them are rather verbal, than real and substantial, (which in some particulars is true enough,) and that there wants nothing towards a perfect reconciliation but unbiassed and dispassioned persons to negotiate it; without considering how few such dispassioned persons there are in the world, and that none such ever had, or ever will have, power to contribute to it. Though there may be, as I said, men of good learning and much honesty, who, dissenting in their judgments, have the same fancy, and do heartily wish the same thing, and what they say, yet the little experience I have had of those persons hath made me observe, that the Catholics have always had great advantage by the want of ingenuity, and by giving themselves leave to say what they wished, rather than what they knew or believed.

Before the troubles which broke out in the year sixteen hundred and forty, when the Church of England was thought to be in no danger of oppression, it was a common bait laid out by many learned Catholics, that the differences were so small between the Church of England and that of Rome, that they were easy to be reconciled; towards which Mr. Davenport *, a Franciscan Friar of good learning, made his approach, in a book wherein he calls himself Franciscus à Sanctâ Clarâ; and the which I the rather believe to be well intended, because it was suppressed by

* [Christopher Davenport, born at Coventry 1593.—entered into the Franciscan Order by the name of Franciscus à Sanctâ Clarâ; Provincial of his Order in England, and one of the Chief Chaplains to the Queen of King Charles II. See Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, second edit. vol. ii. p. 652.]

the Inquisition. And it was in those days commonly CHAP.
said by a Benedictine Monk of the most eminent learn-
X.
ing, who went by the name of Father Leander, "that
" if any member of the Church of England would,
" in the way of confession, assure him, that for all his
" opinions in religion he would very willingly submit
" them to, and stand to the judgment of a General
" Council, when it should be called lawfully, he for
" his part would immediately give him absolution,
" and reconcile him to the Church ;" and I am not
sure that this profession from a man who was well
thought of, and known to have very little reverence
for the Pope, did not make impression upon some
men of good parts ; when he could not but know,
that upon such a general profession and confession,
or without an absolute abjuration of the Church of
England, he could give him no absolution ; or if he
did, that, by the rules to which he was subject, both
the absolution and reconciliation are void, and of no
effect. Alas ! those, and the men of that class, know
little of the Pope's constitution, and how little he is
to be moved by overtures of reconciliation.

It is equally unreasonable to expect that the Pope
will willingly depart from any of those prerogatives,
with which his predecessors have been invested, or
of which they have been possessed for some hundred
of years. He sees all his neighbour Princes not only
positive in enjoying what their ancestors have left to
them, without inquiring by what right or title they
came to it, but solicitous to increase their power, and
to enlarge their dominions ; and so he easily satisfies
himself with retaining the authority he finds himself
in possession of, whether he be sure that Christ left
it him or no. And as other Princes think themselves
rather

CHAP. rather obliged to provide for their own greatness,
X. — and the plenty and happiness of their own dominions, than to contribute out of their own to make their neighbours more at ease, so he looks upon himself as trusted to support the Papacy to the full height at which he received it, and not in the least degree to diminish the state, and revenue, and dependence which belongs to himself, to increase and establish the peace and security of all the Christian world besides. How independent and infallible and supreme soever the person of the Pope is, and how uncontrollable soever his authority is, yet it is a Catholic doctrine, that he may be deposed if he become heretic; and therefore he is obliged, for his own security, never to be suspected to incline to those who have withdrawn their obedience from the Church, for what reason soever. He knows very well, that consenting to any alteration in opinion or practice, to comply with the consciences of other men, will encourage others to make more unreasonable demands. That a palpable error and mischief ought not to be removed to comply with the presumption of a poor Friar, was reason enough to restrain Leo the Tenth from satisfying Luther in some particulars which were agreeable enough to his own judgment and discretion. There is nothing more manifest (both by the instructions to the several Ambassadors, and by the frequent declarations and importunities of the Bishops of France and Spain, as well as of Germany) than that those kingdoms did desire that the Sacrament might be delivered in both kinds; and France as well as Germany did heartily wish that the growing and spreading schisms in both nations might be composed, by permitting marriage to the
Clergy,

Clergy, as well as the cup to the Laity ; so that nei- CHAP.
ther of those points were then looked upon by those X.
Catholic countries as contradictions to Catholic religion, nor could the Pope then have avoided consenting to those and other reformatations, if he had not eluded their importunity by seeming to concur with them in opinion of the convenience and benefit of what they proposed, and in his inclination to grant that himself, out of the plenitude of his own power, which would endure long contest, and take up very much time in the Council ; by which pretence, and the jealousy which he kindled between those Princes upon their other pretences and different interests, he prevailed with them all that those particulars should be referred by the Council to the determination of His Holiness, and thereupon consent that the Council should be dissolved : after which he would never endure either of the particulars to be proposed to him ; declaring upon all occasions, in season and out of season, in earnest and in jest, that the Council itself would have gratified those Princes and nations in what they desired, if they had not known that it was not consistent with Catholic religion. And now both of them, the single life of the Clergy, (with what scandal or wickedness soever accompanied,) and the receiving of the Communion in one kind, (how contrary soever to Christian institution,) are looked upon as main pillars of the Catholic faith, and no proposition in Calyin is less consistent with the Roman religion, than the violation of either of those particles.

The other expedient towards reconciliation, by a General Council, administers less of hope, because
 it Impossibility of calling a General Council

CHAP. it is in a degree impossible. For the proof whereof,
 X. before we shall make use of other arguments that are
 to any ef- demonstrative, we may urge the judgment of a late
 fectual pur- Pope himself; for his own approbation and licensing
 pose. makes what is so approved and licensed to be his own.

Not for
 Cardinal
 Pallavici-
 ni's rea-
 sons.

Cardinal Pallavicini hopes (which may be well
 called the judgment of Pope Alexander the Se-
 venth) that the reading his History of the Council of
 Trent, granting it should produce no other fruit, will
 yet remove a scandal common enough among zea-
 lous but inexperienced persons in civil affairs, which
 is, why in this age Popes do not assemble Councils
 as they used formerly to do, as the canons do enjoin,
 and as the restoration of our decaying and sinking
 discipline seems to require. "Without doubt," says
 he, (for I use no other words than his own,) "who-
 "ever reads the successes of this last Council, even
 "in those things wherein Suave and I do not dis-
 "agree, will find, that in the mystical heaven of the
 "Church there is no conjunction harder to be made,
 "or, being once made, of a more dangerous influence,
 "than a General Synod; so that, as long as the
 "course of the world shall go on as it does," (this
 was said not above a dozen years since, and there
 appears no alteration since that time,) "an attempt-
 "ing it in extreme necessity would be a perfect
 "tempting of God, and such an assembly would
 "make the Church run an evident risk of having its
 "flock scattered;" and so, according to his usual un-
 wariness, he proceeds to the use of other arguments,
 the strength whereof chiefly implies, that it would
 be very inconvenient and mischievous to the Pope
 that there should be any General Council convened;
 which,

which, as I said before, is the best, if not the only CHAP.
X.
argument, which prevails with most men to believe
that it would produce much good.

But, whatever other men may think or say, it must seem very strange, especially to Catholics, who are persuaded to think that their religion and Church itself is founded very deep in the authority and antiquity of General Councils, which destroyed and rooted up all those thorns and briars, the heresies and impieties which were like in its infancy to have choked religion, and to have rendered it utterly unfruitful, and which have given and preserved all that vigour which hath sustained it ever since; it must, I say, seem strange to all such Catholics, to hear it said by a Pope, or a Cardinal with the Pope's approbation, "that the attempting to call a General Council, as long as the course of the world goes as it now does, would be a perfect tempting of God;" and "that such an assembly would make the Church run an evident risk of having its flock scattered." If this appears scandalous to the ordinary rank of Catholics, how much deeper impression must it make upon all those (who, we may reasonably conceive, will amount to a major part of the Roman communion) who do really believe that a General Council is the only representative of the Church, and hath the supreme jurisdiction to depose the Pope? And whosoever submits to the Councils of Constance and Basil do so believe. And will not all these men be apt to think, that those men, who will have no General Synods, would have no other Church than what is comprehended within the sole person of the Pope, and would rather be without the promise made by our Saviour to his Church, than that it should be
under-

CHAP. understood to be made to any other representa-
 —X.— tive?

Other rea-
 sons for its
 impossibi-
 lity.

However, (though not for the Cardinal's reasons,) I do with some confidence conceive that it is demonstrable to be utterly impossible that a General Council can ever be lawfully called, or assemble to any purpose; unless it were possible that a Council could first meet to determine what another Council should or could do, or what submission should be paid to it when it is assembled.

It is not because no single person doth or can assume, or indeed pretends to the power of calling it, in such a manner and quality as those Emperors confessedly had, who summoned those four first Œcumenical Councils, which are received, and I think submitted to, by all Christians, and who were the Sovereigns of all those Prelates who were convened to meet, and could therefore compel them to meet, and could likewise compel all Christians (for all Christians were their subjects too) to submit, and yield obedience to their decrees; whereas no Emperor, nor the Pope himself, (who claims absurdly the sole power to call and to dissolve all Councils,) doth presume or pretend to call the Prelates who are subjects to other Princes to attend in those Councils against, or without their own Sovereigns' consent; so that those meetings must be (whatever the stile of the summons is, as that of the Council of Trent was an original) by a general consent of Sovereign Princes, before they do any thing; and then, when they have done all they can, there must be another consent and approbation and reception, by the same Sovereign Princes, before any of their subjects are bound to yield obedience to the decrees.

I do

I do not state the impossibility of the meeting in a General Council from hence, how great soever the difficulties appear to be ; for it is possible, and but possible, that all Christian Princes, even when all the world is Christian, may agree and consent to send their several Prelates, or so many of them as are fit, to represent their national Churches, to be present in a General Council ; for we may lawfully expect in that conjuncture, when all the world is Christian, that there will be another spirit of meekness and charity in all of them, than is yet discovered to be in many of them. But the impossibility will consist in not finding a place where this General Council can hope to meet, and from thence return to give an account to their Princes and their People, who sent them, of what hath been determined.

It must be a convenient place, where all who are Christians at present, (which, God knows, is but a very little part of the world,) and all who we are to believe will be Christians, may meet ; that is, all mankind that inhabits the world ; of the magnitude whereof we have no rational rules to judge by ; and our experience leads us into despair of ever having any knowledge of it, by the very little that any of those have attained who have spent their whole lives in the inquiry, and going from province to province, and from kingdom to kingdom ; most whereof have never returned to let their friends know what they have seen ; and they who have given the largest account have seen so little of any of the four quarters of the world, that we have received very little information from them, otherwise than for the satisfaction of a lawful and innocent curiosity,

CHAP. riosity, of which there is no end or satiety. And if
 X. — there were no other argument than this to convince
 and confute the illimited and extravagant ambition
 of the Pope, it would be enough to make the impos-
 sibility manifest, that our Saviour could leave any
 such single person for the administration of so large
 a jurisdiction, of which he can receive neither ac-
 count or information in the whole current of his life,
 though it should be much longer than any of those
 Vicars have lived.

Result of
 the histo-
 ries of the
 Council of
 Trent by
 Fra Paolo
 and Cardi-
 nal Pallavi-
 cini.

Indeed, if we shall confine our General Council
 only to the Prelates of the Latin Church, (which
 would be an ill argument to prove the divine institu-
 tion of the Universal Bishop,) we may then resort to
 the Cardinal's authority, and, from the reading the
 History of the Council of Trent, and from the other
 as authentic records of that convention, conclude,
 that if there be not a simple and direct, there is a
 presumptive and rational impossibility, that any such
 Council as, even with that restriction, can be called
 General, will ever meet; and if it should, that it
 would ever be effectual towards the peace and union
 of the Church. We may all know, if we will take
 the pains, how much all Catholic Princes did desire
 and resolve to reform the exorbitancies and corrup-
 tions of the Court of Rome, and to abridge the ex-
 cessive personal power of the Pope himself, when for
 so many years they called for, and at last even com-
 pelled him to consent to, a General Council; which
 was by a thousand artifices eluded, corrupted, and
 made ineffectual, as soon as it was convened at
 Trent; and which, by the proceedings and discove-
 ries then made, hath convinced the world, 1st, that
 it is impossible that even that part of the Christian
 Church

Church can reasonably hope to meet in any General Council ; 2dly, that in any assemblies of that kind, the Pope presiding, (except it be with such limitations as he will never consent unto,) he will sacrifice the peace, and happiness, and piety of all particular kingdoms and nations to his own private interest, ambition, and tyranny ; 3dly, that the faction and emulation between the Catholic Princes will never suffer those assemblies to contribute to the lessening and restraining the Pope's authority, how grievous soever it is to themselves, and how much soever they resolve to controul it by their own acts of power in their own dominions, or any where else, and how much soever they condemn it with reference to conscience and religion ; because it would look like a public compliance with the Protestants. And these three conclusions are notorious and manifest in that excellent history written by Fra Paolo, the Venetian, of the proceedings in that Council, and no less in the bitter, virulent, and voluminous answer which the Cardinal Pallavicini hath published against that history ; and in which latter Work (besides the refutations and contradictions which are in the most minute and frivolous particulars, as the days of the month when the congregations were held, and the number of the persons present, or opposing each other, and the like) the artifices and uningenuity of the Court of Rome, and the unalterable principles of the policy thereof, with their imposing upon the Bishops who are their subjects, and their palpable corrupting and buying the votes of others who are the subjects of other states, the corrupt designs and intrigues of all the Catholic Princes to compass some design of their own, and their absolute command over the con-

CHAP.
X.

CHAP. sciences of their own Bishops and Clergy, and lastly,
 X. — the liberty which all Princes reserve to themselves to receive or reject, according to their own will and pleasure, all that shall be resolved and concluded in those Councils, are as evident and apparent as in the other. So that in truth the long labours of that Cardinal (though he confesses he hath built upon another man's foundation) have rather furnished us with an addition and supplement of many useful records and memorials which were wanting to the other, than weakened the faith or credit of the other, in whatsoever of importance that was delivered by him.

Catholic rule laid down by the Council of Trent for excluding all persons who hold opinions condemned by the Pope.

Not to speak of the factions artifices and sinister contrivances which are unavoidable in all popular assemblies, and of which some of the Fathers complained that there was too much even in some of those which are acknowledged by all to be Œcumenical, it is morally impossible that there can ever be expected a General Council to be assembled together, that shall be equal and indifferent for the decision and determination of all points in controversy, which already are, or hereafter may grow, in matters of religion. Let there be such an agreement in the calling it that it shall meet and come together, the first great controversy that must be determined must be the preeminence and power which the Bishop of Rome assumes and would usurp over the rest; and that point is like to find a very righteous decision by the impudent, absurd, and unnatural exclusion of whole Christian kingdoms and states from being present, and having places and votes in those Councils which are to argue judge and determine from whence the true cause of the schism and separation hath

hath proceeded, and where the greatest errors in doctrine or practice are received and countenanced. CHAP.
X.

Whereas, in those primitive Councils in which any heresies have been examined considered and condemned, as the Arian, Eutychian, and the rest, those Bishops who were known to be Arians, or tainted with the other heresies, were all present, and had their places in those Councils with the other Bishops, and argued, debated, and so defended their own assertions, and gave their own free votes in the scrutiny, when by the major part their opinions were condemned. But the Council of Trent hath left it as a Catholic rule, that no person, who holds any opinions which have been condemned by the Pope, shall have any place in the Council: so that all appeal to future Councils, which hath been the uncontrolled liberty and practice in all the ages of the Church, is at once taken away or eluded, and the only use of Councils declared impertinent; since all their wisdom and authority is vested in the Pope. Upon this ground all the Lutherans, and the rest of the reformed religion, were excluded, and had no other place offered or allowed to them in that Council, but as criminals; and had liberty rather to defend their persons, and answer for their lives, than to maintain or justify their doctrine or opinion: and Virgerius, the Bishop of Capo d'Istria, though he had been Nuncio for the Pope in Germany, and came to that Council as a member of it, because he was known to be of Luther's judgment in some points, could not be admitted to sit there by the Legates, unless he would first go to Rome, and justify himself to the Pope; and the Cardinal Pallavicini thinks he hath answered it very substantially, when

CHAP. he says, "*Venne al Concilio esser ammesso fra giudici*
 X. "*di quella fede, dalla quale errava*^a." "He came to
 "the Council to be admitted amongst the judges of
 "that religion which he contradicted;" as if it were
 a reasonable thing to oblige a man, who hath a con-
 troversy for his inheritance, to refer the decision to a
 person who makes claim to the same inheritance:
 and so the poor Bishop (to prevent the being sent to
 Rome) was compelled to make his escape into the
 country of the Grisons, amongst whom he spent
 the remainder of his life, and published his work
 in defence of his opinions. According to this me-
 thod they proceeded likewise against Ermande, Elec-
 tor and Archbishop of Cologne, without suffering
 him to take his place in the Council as a member of
 it. So that nobody can wonder that no Protestant
 kingdom, or province, or person, can look upon that
 little convention (which in many sessions, wherein
 they pronounced Canons of faith in points of contro-
 versy, did not exceed the number of forty) as a Ge-
 neral Council of the Catholic Church, of which it
 had none of the marks essentially necessary to it.

Dissatisfac-
 tion of the
 Court of
 Rome with
 the canons
 made by
 the Coun-
 cil of Trent.

Enough hath been said before of the proceedings
 in this Council; and therefore I shall only add a
 word upon what passed after the conclusion of it;
 by which the Pope's tergiversation was yet more no-
 torious and scandalous after the Council was dis-
 solved, and the decrees which were passed were to
 be confirmed by him. Though the Crowns were
 eluded in all things which they were contented
 should be referred to the Holy Chair, upon the as-
 surance they had of satisfaction; and though the

^a Paris I. lib. vii pag. 590.

Bishops had been likewise prevailed upon to leave their *jus divinum*, and their residency, (upon which they had with so much reason and obstinacy insisted,) to the same determination, upon the same promises; yet there were many Canons passed by the Council itself for the reformation of several corruptions in the Court of Rome, of which the Princes and the Prelates had complained so loudly, and the Popes themselves had, in their several Bulls for calling the Council, confessed to need reformation; and therefore the Council could not avoid consenting thereunto. The Reformation cut off many fees and emoluments from the Datary, and all other offices of the Court, and abridged much of the power of those officers; so that they who had bought their offices at a vast expence of money found that by these new Canons half or more of their annual profits, according to their usual computation, were absolutely taken away and remitted; which put the whole Court into such an uproar, that the Pope was petitioned, that he would by no means confirm those canons, which very many of the College of Cardinals thought it very unjust for him to do, and the Pope himself declared a marvellous aversion thereunto, and exceedingly blamed and inveighed against his Legates for having consented, and thereby exposed him to so great a reproach, as the consenting or not consenting must inevitably bring upon him. So that the Legates, who, during the whole time that the Council sat, sustained the burden of all the complaints and reproaches which the Ambassadors of the Princes and States and the Bishops every day laid upon them, and had with admirable dexterity and address declared all things which might seem to trench upon

CHAP. the supreme authority of His Holiness, were now
 X.
 — put to undergo a new mortification at Rome, when and where they expected all imaginable applause and reward. A Consistory was called, where the Pope himself declared his dislike of what had been yielded to in the Council, and that he was resolved never to confirm all that was there done; and thereupon he appointed a congregation of the Cardinals, who were possessed with his own prejudice, to peruse and consider all the Canons which had been made in the Council, and to select those which were fit for his confirmation; and the rest should remain unconfirmed; which was the best expedient that they could think of to satisfy the Roman Court, as well as the Christian Church.

Confirma-
 tion of the
 canons by
 the Pope,
 and for
 what rea-
 sons.

After much time spent in this consultation, Cardinal [Morone^a], who had been one of the Legates, desired His Holiness well to weigh the consequence of the resolution he seemed to be inclined to;—that he would remember the importunity which the Christian world had used for many years that a General Council might be called, not more for the extinguishing the heresies, which were grown up in the Church by Luther in Germany, and Zuinglius amongst the Swiss, than for the reforming many abuses which had slipt into the Court of Rome;—that Clement the Seventh, though he called not the Council, acknowledged publicly those abuses to be so great and so scandalous, that he was resolved to begin with the reformation of those before he would call a Council, and appointed a congregation of Car-

^a [Morone. See *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* di P. Soave, p. 798. edit. fol. Lond. 1619.]

dinals

dinals to consider and prepare what was necessary CHAP.
towards that reformation ;—that the two Popes suc-
ceeding, and also His Holiness in whose time the
Council was convened and sat, had by their Bulls
taken notice how absolutely necessary it was to pro-
ceed in that reformation, as well as in the doctrine
that concerned the Heretics ;—that the importunity
used in that Council, by the Ambassadors of Princes
for that reformation, was at least equal to the con-
cernment they seemed to have in the spreading of
the heresies ;—that His Holiness would call to mind
the trouble and perplexity he was often in, out of the
apprehension of several particulars, pressed with great
passion by the Prelates of Spain and Portugal, as
well as of those of Germany and France, that the
right and authority of the Sacred Chair would be in-
vaded ;—and how solicitous and impatient he had been
that an end might be put to the Council, since there
was too much cause to fear that there would be want
of moderation in it ;—that by God's blessing, and
their punctual observation of his wise instructions,
they had put an end to all his fears and apprehen-
sions, with the consent of the Emperor, Kings, and
Princes, and the general approbation of the Christian
world, which expected to receive the fruit and bene-
fit of so many years consultation in the peace and
tranquillity they should enjoy in the Church ; and all
this without the least prejudice to, or diminution of,
his Apostolical power and jurisdiction ;—and that if
after all this, and when all men were prepared to
submit, and to be obedient to what the Council had
determined, His Holiness should now make such a
distinction between the Acts and Canons of the Coun-
cil, as to confirm some, and reject others, he would
Z Z 4 himself

CHAP. himself minister occasion to revive the controversy
X. upon the power of General Councils, which there had been a great inclination in the Council to have vindicated, and which they had with much trouble and dexterity declined and diverted; and, by rejecting some of the Canons, he would make the validity of the rest, which he should confirm, doubtful, and liable to be disputed; of which the Heretics would make great benefit and mirth, whilst the Emperor, Kings, and Princes, would be so much unsatisfied and scandalized, that he must expect a new and joint importunity from them all, that he would call a new Council, both to interpret the Acts of this, and supply the defects of it; all which might be prevented by his confirmation of all the Acts which had been transacted there, without distinction, or seeming unsatisfied in any particular; and this could not but give ample contentment to all kingdoms and countries abroad, which would be abundantly pleased, when they should see all the Canons of the Council now made valid by his final decree and confirmation, and published to the world; nor could it produce the least prejudice or inconvenience to the Court of Rome, or the officers thereof, who thought themselves most concerned; for, he said, that there had been care taken in the penning those Canons which related to reformation in such ambiguous terms, and with those doubtful expressions, that they would always want an interpretation; and they who were in the sense they conceived it to receive a benefit by the same, were no more competent interpreters of that sense than they were who were to undergo the damage: so that in all cases the appeal must still be to His Holiness, who would give such an interpretation

tion as should be just and equitable ; whereby, he CHAP. X. said, in a very short time all things would be as they were. The Pope easily comprehended the reason and consequence of what had been said, and immediately called for all the Canons, and confirmed them without farther hesitation ; and it fell out as had been foretold by the Cardinal, and, after some few short contests, and interpretation given, all things remained as they were, and there was never any fruit or benefit from any of those Canons of reformation.

By all that hath been said, it may appear to any dispassioned man, how impossible it is that there can ever any such Council meet in the future, that can with any reason be looked upon as General, for all the Christians of the world ; and if such a one could meet, how impossible it would be to agree upon such a practice of religion as all parts should submit to in all particulars ; that is, it would never be thought fit that the same thing should be observed in all places, by reason of the different customs in several nations ; and therefore every kingdom and distinct dominion must provide for its own peace and uniformity, by such National Councils as the sovereign power shall think fit ; in which it will have an equal care to provide against any submission to a foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction, how limited and restrained soever, as against an invasion by a powerful army of his greatest enemy ; and as these National Councils have, through the several ages of the Church, been the best conservators of Christian religion, and sometime preserved the purity thereof from the corruption of more general assemblies, (as in the Arian Heresy,) so the discontinuance and intermission of them may reasonably be thought a principal cause

CHAP. X. cause of some schisms, which have thereby crept into the Church, and hath contributed more than any thing else to the extravagant pretences and illimited power of the Pope; which will easily be reduced by renewing the convention of National Synods, and is not like so peaceably to be done any other way. This the Court of Rome knows very well, and is equally solicitous to prevent such assemblies, as not to be any more importuned for a General Council, which, by the laws they have prescribed to it, it is sure never to be, by any who contradicts its authority. It was the terror of those frequent assemblies in Germany, and the apprehension of the like in France, which produced that meeting in Trent, which the Popes so long opposed, and were so hardly brought to consent to at last; and which by the artifice of the Popes, upon the jealousy between the Crowns of France and Spain, and the equal jealousy of the Emperor towards all three, was concluded without doing any thing which was expected it would have done. Nor was the Pope in a small agony, after the determination thereof, whilst the conference was held at Poissy in France, out of pure fear that those of the reformed religion should obtain any grace from the King, in the straits he was then in; towards the satisfaction of whom, or of those in Germany, he never adjudged any other expedient than the fire and the faggot, and the utmost prosecution and massacre by arms, which shut all doors of hope for any moderation from thence.

Necessity
of the banishment
of the Jesuits.

For more moderate Councils can never proceed from the Court of Rome, or be prosecuted with any effect, whilst the emissaries thereof, the Jesuits, are admitted into those countries where any moderation

is

is intended to be exercised ; nor doth the one or the other, in truth, desire or wish (whatever they pretend) that Protestant Princes should use more lenity to their Catholic subjects, or abate any of the rigour that is or hath been used towards them ; but rather that they would extend their severity to the utmost. They do not think them Catholics enough who live peaceably and civilly with Protestants, and submit to their government ; they are in great apprehension that their conversation and civil offices, and eminent piety and justice in their lives, together with the benefit and advantage that may redound from their conformity, may at some time work upon them to their conversion, and to their conviction that they cannot be good Christians without being good subjects ; and therefore they had rather that all the penalties inflicted by the law upon their lives and estates were executed with the utmost severity, hoping that that would drive them into some bold attempt against the state, which they foolishly believe, if once set on foot, would find such countenance and support from Catholic Princes, that they may be able either to root out the Protestant religion, or at least so provide for the indemnity of their own, that they shall live with equal freedom in the exercise of their religion. And this was the specious imagination that led the poor Irish into rebellion, and to forfeit a condition in all respects as easy and as pleasant as any Catholic subjects enjoy in any part of Europe ; that is, they enjoyed the practice of their religion without controul, and paid less imposition for the support of their government than any Catholic subjects in the world at this day are liable to, and compelled to pay.

When

CHAP.
X.

Pope Alex-
ander VII.
refused to
assist
Charles II.
in his ex-
ile, unless
he would
become
Catholic.

When the King was abroad in exile, under those straits and perplexities which all the world hath heard of, (during which time his Roman Catholic subjects, two or three persons of honour only excepted, shewed very little affection to him, but applied themselves to Cromwell, and those in power, that they might live quietly under that government, which they were willing to submit to, and to give any security for their obedience,) some Catholic Princes had so good an opinion of the then Pope Alexander the Seventh, that they believed, though he could not raise armies or provide fleets for an invasion of England on the King's behalf, he would out of generosity assist a young Prince, driven into such exigence, with an annual supply for his assistance, till the two Crowns, by a peace between themselves, might be united for the greater work; and they were induced the rather to this opinion by the discourses which he was known to have had during his Nunciature in Cologne, which are mentioned before; and hereupon he was moved by a Catholic Prince, who had himself heard those discourses, that His Holiness would oblige this young King to such a degree as the opulency of his own condition did well enable him to do, which would be a lasting obligation upon him to think well of Catholics, and dispose him to be gracious to those of his own subjects, when God should restore him to his dominions. The Pope answered, that he could not dispose of the patrimony and goods of the Church to the support of heretics; and asked, what good he would do to Catholic religion? It was answered, that if by his bounty, and the assistance of Catholic Princes, his Majesty should be restored to his kingdom,

dom, he would infallibly cause those severe laws which are against Catholics to be repealed, or at least restrain the execution thereof. The Pope asked, whether the King would become Catholic? slighting all other overtures that were or could be made. And it is a known truth, that the Jesuits and the Court of Rome feared nothing more upon the King's happy and blessed restoration, than that his Majesty's gentle and gracious disposition might incline him to consent to the repeal of all those sanguinary laws which are in force against the Priests; and therefore did use all their dexterity to divert that grace which they knew would lessen the reverence that was paid to them, and make it notorious to the world that they are not under so sharp a persecution as they would be thought to be. Nor will any indulgence be grateful to them without an entire conversion of the nation to them, and a submission to the Papal tyranny, which they do assuredly promise to themselves. And this confidence can no other way be abated than by an absolute indispensable banishment of the Jesuits, who industriously plant other opinions in the hearts of their proselytes than what pertain to Catholic religion, and such a resignation to and dependence upon the Papal power, as is inconsistent with their duty and obedience to the King. Whereas other ecclesiastical orders, at least particular persons of the secular and regular Clergy, (the Jesuits excepted,) may be easily found out, who are of peaceable and quiet dispositions, who will give that security to the State for their obedience which can be desired, and renounce any other dependence upon any superior, but such as the King shall appoint to govern over them. This would quickly induce

CHAP. X. duce such a temper into the hearts of all the Roman Catholics who shall inhabit in his Majesty's dominions, that there will be little cause to doubt any defection from them, after they have so solemnly renounced all foreign dependence and subjection.

Reasons for requiring all the English Roman Catholics to renounce the Pope's Supremacy.

How long soever the indulgence of Princes, and a mistaken charity, from the present professions of the Roman Catholics, and their peaceable behaviour, shall defer the exacting this security, so long there shall remain distrusts and jealousies between the King and that party of his subjects; the Crown not being able long to defend itself from the importunity of the rest of his subjects, that the laws in force may be put in execution against those who confess such a dependence upon a foreign power, that they may not give the same security for their fidelity to their natural Prince, which all their other fellow subjects do; or from their jealousy of his affection for his not complying with them in their so just and necessary a demand. And the Roman Catholics themselves, who are for the present without those pressures, will consider, that the indulgence under which they enjoy their present ease is founded only upon the gentle and unjealous temper of the King, which may be shaken and changed by several accidents which may fall out; and will, for their better security, use all the artifices which occur to them to gain protection from those who seem most like to be able to disturb them, by mingling with some discontented party, without farther design, at first, than to save themselves harmless, and to make the protection of the King the more available to them; yet in short time will they give real jealousy to that power which can only protect them; and then this sovereign remedy must

must be applied with rougher circumstances, than in CHAP.
 a calm and a quiet conjuncture it might be. Where- X.
 as if it were in such a season positively and reso-
 lutely pressed, and no other expedient allowed to ab-
 solve the Roman Catholics from the many penalties
 which are already in force, and provided for them,
 than by their absolutely renouncing all manner of
 authority or power in the Church of Rome, or in the
 Pope, to lay any commands upon them, and all kind
 of obedience from them to such commands within
 the King's dominions; and that, upon their giving
 that security of their allegiance and fidelity, all other
 penalties might be for the present suspended; it is
 more than probable, that the most considerable part
 of the Roman Catholics would find, that no kind of
 dependence upon or relation unto the Bishop of
 Rome is of the essence of Catholic religion, or em-
 braced by any other Catholics in any other manner
 than as they are directed by the laws of the kingdom
 or country in which they live to be subject unto,
 and therefore they would gladly redeem themselves
 from so many disadvantages, by giving that earnest
 of their faith, as all other subjects do: and they
 would find enough of their best Clergy to concur
 with them in the practice, and support them in their
 resolution. And it is then as probable, that the
 State, upon the observation of the truth of their pro-
 fessions, would by degrees repeal those severe and
 rigid penalties, and reserve only some such distinc-
 tion of them from other subjects as might only re-
 tain them to their practice, without prejudice and re-
 proach to them. For if that subjection to the Pope
 were once disclaimed and rooted out, their other
 errors are not dangerous to the State; and would
 sooner

If the Ca-
 tholics will
 abjure the
 Pope, then
 may the
 State repeal
 the penal-
 ties against
 them.

CHAP. sooner be discovered and reformed by themselves, if
 X. — they were out of that captivity which deprives them of the use of their own senses, and divests them of the faculties of their own understandings; and the world would quickly discover that, if the Papal tyranny were universally shaken off.

When foreign jurisdiction is excluded, those who differ from the established religion of the State may be safely admitted to the common privileges of subjects.

If the authority of sovereign Princes were thus vindicated within their several dominions, and no foreign jurisdiction admitted to exercise any power over their subjects, nor any subjects suffered to have the least dependence or recourse to any foreign power; and if their own persons and power were thus secured by a mutual alliance and defence of each other, Princes would then easily agree what indulgence they would allow to such other subjects, who are of a contrary religion to what is established by their laws, when they might grant such an indulgence without any danger to the peace of their dominions. For it is neither agreeable to policy nor to piety, to wish or imagine that Christians will live without the exercise of their religion, how penal soever it is to them; or that they should be permitted to live any where, where they may not likewise be permitted to do whatsoever their religion obliges them to do; and it would then easily and quickly appear, how many scruples they now entertain, in all professions of religion, which are no parts of their religion, by their then casting them out. We have seen how, under the disadvantages of so many laws, many Roman Catholics, of the Clergy as well as the Laity, have taken the oath of allegiance, and written in defence of it, to the great offence and jealousy of the Court of Rome: and it may be reasonably presumed that very many more would have been convinced in
 this

this point, if they had found that a proportionable CHAP. X. favour of the State had attended that ingenuity and submission. But the law having made no distinction between Catholics, (they who would take the oaths being as punishable for going to mass, as they who refused the oaths,) it is no wonder, that they would not expose themselves to the reproach of many Catholics, and the censures of their own ecclesiastics, when they found not the more protection from Protestants; and when Priests themselves were at the same time excommunicated for taking the oath of allegiance, and condemned to greater penalties for the discharge of their function in saying mass.

When the State, upon their making themselves entirely subjects, by giving that security for their loyalty and allegiance which other subjects do, shall likewise receive them as subjects in all other respects, and give them the same protection and privileges that all others enjoy, it may also be reasonably hoped, that they will study their religion better, than to want the full protection of their natural sovereign for paying half obedience to another sovereign, upon whom by the laws of God they have no dependence, and to whom by the laws of the kingdom they are to disclaim any subjection. In order to which, the State shall do well to take care that they be provided with ecclesiastical teachers, of the mildest and most peaceable dispositions, by the admission of the sovereign power, without leaving them to be supplied by a foreign mission; which will always supply such men who shall be more solicitous to advance that interest than the peace of their country, because they have a greater dependence upon it. Whereas, if a competent number of such persons were with some

Ecclesiastical teachers should be provided for the Catholics by the admission of the sovereign power, without leaving them to be supplied by a foreign mission.

CHAP.
X.

formality admitted by the State upon due examination of their principles, and such encouragement thereupon, that they should not find themselves in danger of being exposed to that power they shall once renounce; it is probable there would be many found of great fidelity to their country, and who would not be shaken therein by any censures whatsoever; and the State would thereby be sure to know all who should presume to come into the country without leave, and to exclude those who are of turbulent and unpeaceable dispositions. And if Catholic Princes were induced to make this prudent provision for their own security, they would clearly understand the humour and nature of all their subjects; and Catholics who live in the dominions of Protestant Princes would depart from those tenets which the essence and purity of their religion do not oblige them to maintain, and which are as inconvenient to themselves as to the States wherein they live; and such Protestants as live in the dominions and under the protection of Catholic Princes would be easily induced to reform such parts of their reformation, as the conscience or interests of several powerful instruments, who contributed to the reformation, (and without whose assistance they could not have vindicated those necessary truths,) obliged them to admit into their constitutions; and who, by the abatement of those passions with which their predecessors were unreasonably transported, and by the improvement of very good and useful learning, wherein many of them abound, and the conversation with learned, and prudent, and pious persons, who are of another persuasion, (and who did heretofore more industriously avoid the company or acquaintance

ance with each other, than the diseases or dangers CHAP.
which would most inevitably accompany their con- X.
tentions,) do now discern, that whatsoever is absolutely necessary to the service of God, and to the satisfaction of any sincere and well informed conscience, may be still retained; without many of those affected excesses, which give most offence and scandal to the lawful government under which they live, and as much to many of their neighbours, who have more effectually concurred with them in all particulars of a solid reformation; and which in truth do but serve to excuse and assist their adversaries in charging them with many too just reproaches.

This would be the way, and the only way, to make the practice of religion flourish amongst Christians, without any violation of Christian charity; and, the uncharitableness of all faction being removed, there would remain such an innocence and integrity in the heart, as would make our religion acceptable to God; and when no mischievous action doth necessarily result from our opinions, how erroneous soever, we should be no more offended with each other for those differences, than for the distinct colour of our eyes, or hair.

MOULINS,
12th *February* 167 $\frac{3}{4}$.

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THE END.

The following *Errata*, affecting the sense of some of the passages quoted,
should be thus corrected.

P. 129. l. 13. for *panto* read *punto*—p. 175. l. 2. for *saltura* read *soltura*; l. 3. for
ellevava read *llevava*—p. 196. l. 27. for *ordenes* read *orden es*—p. 197. l. 27.
read *cuyo decreto y sentencia prevaleció*—p. 277. l. 6. for *favoreis* read *favoreció*.

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